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ABSTRACT

The five papers presented at the symposium were discussed and reacted to by the participants. In "Values, Ideology and Social Services" a socio-philosophical approach is used to compare Chicano values to the origins and development of the values behind the Social Welfare System. "An Oral History of a Mexican Immigrant" presents the story of a 75-year-old Mexican woman who, at an early age, was faced with the adjustments and difficulties entailed in immigrating to the United States. A socio-cultural approach is used to document the values, attitudes and motives of a Mexican immigrant and her family. In "The Effects of the Welfare System on the Chicano Elderly", the economic and social conditions of the older Chicano generation are described in detail. A review is made of the government programs available to them and the effects the welfare practices and value system have on the Chicano elderly. The theoretical justification for these programs is also discussed. "The Welfare System's Impact on the Chicana: A Beneficiary's Perspective" describes the situation which motivated the formation of organizations that would advocate for the presentation of the rights of the Chicana when dealing with social service programs, discusses the failure of some Federal programs to meet their objectives, and gives case studies which illustrate problems encountered by Chicanas when participating in the various welfare programs. The final paper provides a statistical analysis of Chicanos and other Hispanic groups on the various public assistance programs. The symposium's plenary group discussion is summarized. (NQ)

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SYMPOSIUM
ON CHICANOS AND WELFARE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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National Council of La Raza

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SYMPOSIUM
ON CHICANOS AND WELFARE

at

The Albuquerque Hilton Inn
Albuquerque, New Mexico

on

November 19 - 20, 1976

Sponsored by
The National Council of La Raza

Raul Yzaguirre
National Director

Cosme Juan Barceló, Jr., M.S.W.
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PROLOGUE

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) is pleased to have had the opportunity to coordinate this symposium. Hopefully, the information presented at the symposium and in these proceedings will lead to a better understanding and continued dialogue on our concern for the implications of the dependency of Mexican Americans on the welfare system. The NCLR is supportive of a development of a more sensitive and responsive welfare system that will better meet the needs of the Mexican American community.

In planning for the symposium, it was our goal to produce an end product that would identify what knowledge we have in this area as well as generate some new knowledge. In addition, it was our intent that the end product would result in:

1. The identification of knowledge gaps and research needs.
2. Some recommendations on specific policies that can be changed immediately, and
3. An action strategy for welfare reform that would benefit the Chicano welfare recipient.

The symposium provided a forum for the presentation of five papers submitted to NCLR for the project. These papers, contained in this document, were presented at the symposium by their authors and were discussed and reacted to by the symposium participants.

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In the first paper titled "Values, Ideology and Social Services", the author uses a socio-philosophical approach to compare Chicano values to the origins and development of the values behind the Social Welfare System. He uses the value concept more in the axiological sense than in the cultural sense.

The second paper, entitled, "An Oral History of a Mexican Immigrant", presents the story of a 75 year old Mexican woman who, at an early age, was faced with the adjustments and difficulties entailed in immigrating to the United States. The author's purpose was to "outline the details of a generation that shortly will no longer be." A socio-cultural approach is used to document the values, attitudes and motives of a Mexican immigrant and her family.

In "The Effects of the Welfare System on the Chicano Elderly", the economic and social conditions of the older Chicano generation are described in detail. A review is made of the government programs available to them and the effects the welfare practices and value system has on the Chicano elderly. The theoretical justification for these programs is also discussed in this paper.

The author of the fourth paper was one of the originators of the Chicana Welfare Rights Movement in Denver, Colorado. In her paper entitled, "The Welfare System's Impact on the Chicana: A Beneficiary's Perspective", she describes the situation which motivated the formation of organizations that would advocate for the presentation of the rights of the Chicana woman when dealing with social service programs. The failure of some federal programs to meet their objectives is discussed in this document. Case studies are included which illustrate problems that Chicanas have encountered when participating in the various welfare programs.

The final paper in this document provides a statistical analysis of Chicanos and other Hispanic groups on the various public assistance programs. The author concludes that, because of the limited and often times clear unreliability of the data collected by Federal agencies, an accurate statistical portrayal of Chicanos and other Hispanic groups proved difficult to accomplish. Nevertheless, some Federal agencies administering public assistance programs do collect a sufficient amount of data upon which to make some interesting observations. It is pointed out that the Federal agencies administering these public assistance programs need to improve their collection of racial and ethnic data in order to measure the extent to which their programs reach the Hispanic community. The author recommends the full implementation of Public Law 94-311 in order to correct the inadequate statistics that are gathered and published by the various data gathering Federal agencies with respect to Americans of Hispanic heritage.

The last section of this document provides a summary of the symposium's plenary group discussion. The dialogue centered mainly around the inefficiencies and complexities of the welfare system, it's effect on the Hispanic community, and strategies to accomplish change.

Our society has accepted the responsibility for meeting basic human needs and has committed both public and private resources to the task. However, the participants agreed that how assistance is given is as important as how much, and what kind of assistance is given. The authors and participants expressed a general concern about the effects of the welfare system on the Hispanic community in general and the Mexican American or Chicano community in particular. It was noted that, aside from having originated from a different set of values, the welfare system of the U.S. has adversely affected our institutions and traditions.

The NCLR wishes to express thanks and gratitude to all who participated in sharing their concerns and insights about the effect of the welfare system on the Chicano individual and his community.

Additionally, special thanks are extended to Toni Breiter and Eduardo Terrones for their assistance in proof reading the papers presented at the symposium, and to Ligia Ona, who diligently spent many long hours typing these proceedings. We are also deeply grateful to Sonia Aldoy and Dina Bushrod for their clerical support. Our gratitude is also extended to the rest of the NCLR staff who contributed a helping hand in this endeavor. Without the combined effort of all the aforementioned, this publication could not have been made possible.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BY

RAUL YZAGUIRRE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Good afternoon. I wish to welcome all of you to Albuquerque, and [illegible] this two day Chicanos and Welfare Reform symposium. The general purpose of the symposium is to explore some positive and/or negative impacts of the welfare system of the United States on the family attitudes, values, culture, lifestyles, and modes of individual behavior within the Chicano community.

Formal research and discussion papers will be presented at the beginning of the afternoon's session. As many of you are aware, empirical data or published material in the area of the Chicano welfare community is very scarce. For this reason, some of the papers include personal impressions and experiences, as well as formal data whenever it was available or appropriate.

As we informed you before, your role as participants at this symposium, will be to provide input and feedback on the papers, to exchange ideas during the course of this session and to suggest action strategies for the improvement of the welfare system.

It is significant to note that, to my knowledge, this is the first symposium of its kind to ever be held. Consequently, this is the first step. Hopefully, we will be able to learn from this experience and identify other areas in need of further exploration as a direct result of these two days.

The participants of this symposium come from diverse backgrounds. We have educators with a background in welfare, persons involved in the delivery of welfare and other human services, and consumers of welfare services. I personally look forward to the next two days and I hope all of you share my enthusiasm.

Before we move on to the keynote presentations, I would like to take this opportunity to share some of my own observations on the current welfare system and its impact on the culture and values of the Chicano family. I must emphasize the words "observations" because there is very little empirical data or even published literature on the subject matter. There does exist an extensive body of knowledge (or of literature) on the general question of welfare dependency, welfare history, the culture of poverty, and on welfare as it applies to the Black community.

The study of the Black ghetto family and the impact the welfare system has had on its family structure is relatively recent. This recent focus on the Black poor family is consistent with the long established emphasis upon the importance of a stable family organization in the sociological literature, as well as the particular concern that goes back more than a century about the problems of family disorganization.

Sociologists have discovered that such welfare programs as AFDC (Aid to the Families with Dependent Children) have contributed significantly to mother-centered patterns in Black families. It has generally been accepted that this phenomenon has been the result of a cultural adjustment to situations of economic deprivation and the denial to many Black men of access to the job market on any regular basis.

We propose that there are some striking (adaptive strategy) similarities as well as dissimilarities between poor Chicanos and poor Blacks. Additionally, we propose that the Chicano community has had a traditional aversion towards receiving welfare, despite the fact that our community is an impoverished community. However, there are a variety of intervening variables which make the Chicano experience with welfare significantly different than that of the Black community. There is a pressing need to understand the perceived phenomenon better and to document it more accurately in order to expose the myths and/or realities of welfare recipiency within the Chicano community.

The Evolution of Welfare in the U. S.

Without going into great detail, a brief review of the evolution of the welfare system in the U. S. may be helpful in order to place the purpose of the symposium into perspective.

The origins of the relief system of the United States can be traced back to England. This would take us back to the famous Statute of Laborers issued by King Edward III in 1349 and the Elizabethan Poor Laws adopted during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) in England.

These statutes had a positive and negative side. On the one hand, they established local community responsibility for whatever welfare measures were necessary for the care of the poor and dependent. However, more importantly, they asserted that any condition of personal dependency was a fault of the individual so dependent, an indication of a morally defective character.

To a great extent, the perspective of seeing the poor as the victims of their own moral failure was carried over by colonists when they came to America. This dominant middle-class perspective of the poor influenced the welfare philosophy of the U. S. for many years. It was not until the Great Depression of the 1930's that a national welfare program in the U. S. brought some modifications of this philosophy which had perpetuated an ancient pattern of welfare. To be sure, the industrialization of the U. S. contributed greatly to the need for a new approach to welfare.

The rediscovery of poverty as a pervasive phenomenon in the U. S. is a relatively recent event. Perhaps it can be dated somewhat arbitrarily, to the publication of The Other

America in 1962 by Michael Harrington. His provocative portrait of the extent and nature of contemporary poverty in America not only created renewed interest in the poor, but in fact corrected the wide spread impression that poverty was largely an outmoded pattern in affluent societies.

The problems of poverty have taken on a new and compelling interest among sociologists. The cumulative impact of research findings from such diverse fields as mental health, juvenile delinquency, slums and urban renewal, and social welfare has contributed to the development of a more adequate sociological perspective of the poor in general. However, little focus has been placed on the Chicano poor or the adjustments this group has made as a result of an ever changing welfare system.

Context in Which the Symposium and Research Papers Will Be Presented

I am sure that most of us here today are vitally concerned with what the welfare system has done and is doing to us as a community. Consistently the various welfare programs have failed to take into consideration and adapt themselves to the background, language and culture of the Chicano welfare recipient. The welfare system, for example, has failed to recognize the Chicano family as an alternative family life style.

The major issue in the symposium is the need for welfare reform. However, we do recognize that welfare reform goes beyond ethnicity. Nevertheless, the need to pinpoint areas in need of reform in relation to the Chicano community is essential in order to incorporate these areas into changes in welfare policy.

Issues of the Symposium

It is our contention that the welfare system has had some negative implications for the Chicano family. It has often caused poor Chicano families to involuntarily adjust their family structure, lifestyle, etc. in order to qualify for welfare services. Of significant importance is the question of whether or not Chicano families are increasingly being headed by females as opposed to the traditional husband-wife and extended family relationship. Here the data is skimpy and what is available is confusing. In June 1974 the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights noted in its report entitled Women and Poverty that, 17% of the Mexican-American households were headed by females in 1974 and to 12% as of March 1975.

What is very clear from the Civil Rights Commission Report and other data, is that Mexican-Americans traditionally have lower rates of female-heads-of households than the population as a whole (22%) and less than half the rate for Black households (34%). Puerto Ricans, who tend to be concentrated in the New York area, have rates of female-headed families that approach that of Blacks (27%), according to the same Commission report.

A second issue deals with the participation rates of the Chicano community in AFDC, Food Stamp and other income transfer program. There is a need for the agencies administering these programs to publish these statistics in an appropriate manner and on a regular basis.

The third issue deals with misunderstanding of the Chicano culture by the Anglo community. Traditionally, Chicanos have avoided applying for welfare benefits. This perceived phenomenon is a result of several factors. First of all we contend that, in general, Chicanos have a distrust of all governmental agencies. Historically, this contact has always been strained. They present a degree of tension - and it varies from place to place and agency to agency - is not fully known at this point. But such governmental units as the Border Patrol, local police agencies and welfare agencies have in the past fostered anxiety and resentment among Mexican-Americans. It should be noted that some ad hoc agencies such as OEO have helped to ease some of the tension which has traditionally existed. Nevertheless, in The Mexican-American People: the Nation's Second Largest Minority, by Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore and Ralph C. Guzman, it is proposed that the Mexican-American sector of the Hispanic community has inherited a suspicion of all government services which inhibits their participation. Suspicion of welfare agencies and social workers is attributed, the authors continue, to the so-called Welfare Repatriations during the Great Depression of the 1920's. During this period, various welfare agencies participated in a massive effort to send Mexican welfare recipients back to Mexico, thereby saving relief expenditures by removing them from the welfare rolls. Among those "repatriated" were United States citizens of Mexican origin. The memories of these events, while diminished in the younger generation, still remain. These memories intensify the resistance of the older Mexican Americans to welfare assistance and they are often those most in need of such assistance.

Additionally, the Anglo community has misunderstood the Chicano culture and value system. Even perceptive writers such as Madsen and Oscar Lewis, who do tend to accurately record Chicano behavior, somehow fail to understand why such behavior occurs.

The process which an individual must go through in order to establish eligibility many times acts as a barrier to participation. When Chicano men or women are asked to declare themselves "impotent" and to prove that they are unable to provide for themselves and for their children, the system is asking for the ultimate in self-abasement as far as the Chicano culture is concerned.

The very fact of having them expose the most intimate details of their private lives to complete strangers is for Chicanos, even more than for poor people in general, something that goes against every instinct they have learned. This act implies more than poverty of the pocketbook, it implies poverty of self-worth.

A fourth issue deals with juvenile delinquency within the Chicano community as it relates to family deterioration as a result of welfare dependency. The Chicano urban barrio family is currently under siege by the increasing pressures of urban existence which make parental control and protection against the particular stresses of the barrio even more difficult.

To be sure, industrialization, urbanization, and general poverty are also contributing factors to the deterioration of the Chicano barrio family and to juvenile delinquency among Chicano families receiving public assistance, especially among one-parent families.

All these indignities (plus the continuing embarrassment of having to live with one's peers knowing that they are aware that you are on welfare) must be weighed against the pain of having hungry children. When that happens, as it increasingly does when mechanization and herbicides wipe out Chicano farm-workers jobs, then eventually, the Chicano will succumb. In doing so, the Chicano gives up some (or a lot - depending on the individual) of our perceived self-worth.

In closing, I hope my observations have helped to place the purpose of the symposium into perspective.

As I mentioned earlier, this symposium is intended to provide a platform for presentation and discussion of the papers which will now be presented by their authors. After each presentation, there will be an opportunity to comment on the papers.

Thank you for being with us. I look forward to interacting with all of you before you return to your respective communities.

VALUES, IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

By

Tomas C. Atencio
La Academia De La Nueva Raza
Dixon, New Mexico

VALUES, IDEOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES

INTRODUCTION

> No hacemos las cosas solamente porque
> se necesitan hacer, y no dejamos de
> hacerlas porque no se deben de hacer.
> Sino, que hacemos todo lo que se debe
> de hacer y lo que no debe de hacerse
> porque recibimos en pago aquel oro,
> plata, hojalata o pedazo de papel que
> nos hara dueños de todo lo que deseamos.[1]
>
> Translation:
> We do not do things simply because they
> need to be done, and we do not keep from
> doing them because they should not be done.
> Rather, we do everything that should be
> done and that which should not be done,
> because we receive in payment that gold,
> silver, tin or piece of paper that will
> make us owners of that which we desire.

These words, spoken by a 90-year-old man from northern New Mexico reflect and describe the present state and progressive deterioration of traditional Chicano values. What I have tried to do in this paper is to give a historical description and perspective analysis of both traditional Chicano values and the values of industrialized America. In examining the values of this industrialized society, the ideological foundations which gave birth to these values are analyzed and contrasted with traditional Chicano values. The emergence of industrial values and their integration into our Welfare system is also described. In contrasting welfare ideology

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[1] From, Entre Verde y Seco, Academia Publications on Oral History, 1972.

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and its values with those of traditional Chicanos, I conclude that like education, and the media, the welfare system served as a predatory vehicle for the introduction and assimilation of values previously alien to Chicanos. And today, like the majority, Chicanos are consumers--the food and fuel for an industrial society gone wild.

This paper has some interesting and possibly significant corollaries. Chicanos share a common culture and history with the peoples of Latin America. The events of the mid-19th century, which some historians interpret as a parting of the ways between Chicanos and other Latin Americans, was indeed just a matter of political economics. The language and culture that Chicanos share with the rest of Latin America continued. But Chicanos were more intensely and rapidly enveloped in the North American giant, capitalism, and thus more critically affected.

After the Mexican American War, Chicanos became Americans and heirs to 19th century Liberalism and its famous offspring--industrial capitalism--an economic system so successful it spread worldwide.

After winning their independence from Spain, Mexico and other Latin American countries officially accepted the basic tenets of 19th century Liberalism but were never able to implement industrial capitalism with the success of its northern neighbors. Most of Latin America today continues to copy industrialization, but are still somewhat removed from the total impact that its technology and values bring.

A popular saying in Mexico, Pobrecito Mejico, tan lejos de Dios y tan cerca de los Estados Unidos.

Latin America will soon witness and experience the more total effects of their industrialization efforts, and perhaps even more traumatically since their own natural resources, almost totally exported to other industrialized nations for their economic growth, are now practically depleted.

In the face of world inflation and exhaustion of the world's resources, the human species is fast approaching the time when issues and problems of want and wealth of each individual nation must be globally handled.

North America could benefit by looking within and to Latin America to study and learn from traditional Chicano and Latin American indigenous values. Conversely, Latin America must critically "see" their Chicano brothers and sisters and observe what has happened to their values. Official Latin America--the middle class may see this as a desirable goal. What about the masses of people?

With this introduction, we proceed to the body of the paper which begins with some historical overviews and analysis.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE AMERICAN WELFARE SYSTEM'S IDEOLOGY[2]

Mercantilism

Sixteenth century Europe is a long way, both in time and in thought, from twentieth century America. Yet contemporary economic security and welfare policy have their roots in the

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[2] Samuel Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty War, for a complete history of Welfare Ideology.

Mercantilist ideology of sixteenth century Europe. Today's welfare ideology had to go through the acid test of laissez-faire, but the Mercantilist roots cannot be severed.

Mercantilism was the transitional economic ideology that took northern Europe from the feudal system on to laissez faire. Its goal was the expansion of governmental power and the increase of national wealth. To achieve its end, the Mercantilist state needed people to work. And although the concept of work was not new to the human condition, with Mercantilism it reached ideological status. For work was ascribed objective values with intrinsic worth, and also became intertwined with social and moral attitudes. Work was at the apex of the hierarchy of values. Samuel Mencher points out: "Work was man's duty before God. Work was the source of national wealth and state power. Work was important for the stability of the nation, for idleness led to dissatisfaction, crime, and social disturbance. Work was the basis of economic value and the rationale for the ownership of property. Finally, work was the responsibility of man to his neighbor and the foundation of all moral and socially useful conduct. Work was an end in itself, not merely a means of obtaining satisfaction."[3]

Simultaneously, as feudalism was dying out and modern science was gaining strength, reason achieved a regal position in Western civilization. Philosopher Thomas Hobbes was saying that man in the state of nature was in constant competition for survival. Humankind must therefore use reason and create social contracts among its individual citizenry, thus relinquishing some personal freedom to a central authority which would protect the rights of individuals as well as their property. Mercantilism reflected this thinking. Mencher writes that "...the leaders of the Mercantile state assumed that man's original condition was anti-social and conflict-ridden and that an irrevocable contract with unlimited sovereign power was necessary to save society from its own destruction."[4] In Mercantilist doctrine, centralized authority implied a kind of paternalism that gave the leaders of the state the responsibility for the welfare of the poor.

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[3] *Ibid*, p.6

A third important concept of Mercantilist ideology is maintenance of rigid class structures. With the expansion of power and the increase of wealth as the goal of the state, and work being imperative towards that end, Mercantilism assumed that poverty was a necessary incentive to work. A pool of poor people was necessary for a labor force. And to sustain that labor force, the poor were restricted from moving upwardly on the economic ladder. Christ's admonition, "the poor are always with us", became economic policy.

As industrialization progressed, Mercantile state leaders discovered that there were some poor people who could not work; they were the "unemployable." There were others who could not work because the system rather than their own actions deprived them of work. Factories, for example, were displacing some from the labor force. The emphasis on work and the necessity of poverty as an incentive to work had to undergo some change. This resulted in important distinctions whose shadows are cast upon current welfare policy. There were the poor but "pious citizens" who had tried to maintain themselves through work; there were those who were poor because of their inaction. They were labeled as the worthy poor and the unworthy poor respectively. The result was and still is that all able-bodied had to work; their poverty could not be condoned. In the paternalistic style of Mercantilism, the worthy poor received voluntary benevolence or mutual aid from fraternal associations coordinated by the state. The unworthy poor received nothing. Eventually, legislation that criminalized inactivity of the able-bodied was enacted.

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[4] Ibid., p. 16.

As suggested earlier, the old world's economic philosophy, with some adaptation, found application in America. While in England central control and rigid class structures prevailed, the opposite was true in the New World. Flavored by puritanism and influenced by the new country's geography and its population, the thirteen colonies practiced local control and supported individual enterprise. But the general attitude that wealth like poverty, demonstrated God's hand, continued. In short, the rich are good; the poor are evil. Idleness and vagrancy were seen as irresponsible and immoral. No persons were to be brought to the colonies without a sponsor who would be responsible for their welfare. In Plymouth in 1680, the leadership went as far as legislating family life, requiring by law that all persons live as part of some family.

Despite puritan admonition to the contrary, the notion of rigid class structure broke with the mother country. That particular Mercantilist doctrine conflicted with the need for more labor to develop the colonies in the New World. Consequently, wages were not restricted and people could rise out of poverty into a different class structure. As in England, however, the able-bodied were forced to work or face commitment to the workhouse.

Mercantilism did not last long. The Age of Reason moved humankind on to greener pastures--to what has generally been called freedom--freedom from the dogma of the Church and the power of the nobility and on to the freedom to exploit nature and human resources to the greater freedom of all humankind. Thus, we enter the period of nineteenth century Liberalism with its dominant doctrine of laissez-faire. The Western world moved from commerce and trade to industrial development and a new ideology emerged.

From Mercantilism to Laissez-Faire

Mercantilism set the stage for industrialization. Then factories and the intensification of large scale production revolutionized the social and economic basis of the whole society. This marked the end of the vestiges of agrarianism and subsistence farming that served as a back-up for workers in transition from the fields to the factories. The state support heretofore given to the small subsistence landowner was given to those in pursuits more akin to industry. Wage earning became the primary source of income. People became totally dependent on the commercial market, and they crowded into the cities where the factories were. There the cost of living increased. At the same time, workers became displaced by the machine; the friendly and mutual aid societies common in an agrarian but industrially bound economy were insufficient to support the masses of workers needing assistance. Along with these new developments, the old doctrine of paternalism of the Mercantilist era began to disappear. Consequently, a discontent populace was left in limbo, expressing its insecurity in anger, violence and social unrest.

Meanwhile, the value of work, with some changes in its ideology, continued to reign with all its moral implications and economic considerations. Concommitantly, the values that were to undergird industrial civilization were beginning to emerge: "The treatment of nature as simply an object to be exploited for the satisfaction of human desires, the emphasis on quantity as a key to the true measures of the good, the value placed upon knowledge as a source of power and the conscious organization of the pursuit of knowledge as part of the quest of power."[5] Work as a virtue was reinforced by these new values and vice versa.

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[5] Victor Ferkiss, Technological Man; Myth and Reality, 1969, p. 45.

Where did this leave the human being and his basic human needs? Obviously the increased knowledge of the physical world and of human interaction could shed some light on the issues, and it did. Poverty had to be viewed from another perspective, for the poverty population was no longer constituted only by the able-bodied, but unwilling laborers. Consequently, poverty as a work incentive was no longer needed, and the poor and the pauper could not be lumped into one. Some wanted work, but there was none; others were simply unemployable.

England's immediate response was to attack the problem by reverting to the Mercantilist position of the wealthy assuming responsibility for the poor. But as is noted above, modern science had made its inroads and the weight of the Enlightenment was upon England: A new class of thinkers under the scientific influence had freed itself from the Church and the nobility; a new view of man and of the human condition evolved. The new political economy which they espoused "was opposed to the practical objectives and programs of the Mercantilist so it attempted, for example, to substitute a policy of laissez-faire for governmental paternalism and control."[6] Accordingly, rather than resorting to its Mercantilist past, England attempted to reform the system to achieve a more equitable balance of the social, economic and political forces.

England's reform movement must be viewed within the context of nineteenth century Liberalism, which emerged from that epoch's experience. Founded on the belief that society is built primarily by individual interests and actions, this position dealt a blow to Mercantilism. This meant a total departure from the social obligation for the underdog. The drive for individual success became unharnessed. This kind of unrestricted and crude individualism did not develop to its fullest and philosophers and economists continued their interest in the social goals of the society. This was marked by a resurgence of humanitarianism, which as Mencher points out, "made more salient the dilemma between individual action and social welfare."[7]

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[6] Everett Hall, Modern Science and Human Values, p. 149.

Three schools of thought dominated the scene in resolving the dilemma: 1) the classical economists, themselves responsible for the problem, 2) the paternalists motivated by religion, and 3) the democratic equalitarians.

Classical economists argued that despite the importance of individualism, humans had an impulse towards benevolence and that the underdog would be cared for. Yet Adam Smith, while admiring those qualities in man, held that people who did not know each other may not express mutual sympathy. The population was growing, making it more difficult for people to be personal. There was a return to the concept of natural law, and therefore justice had to be assured by government through a social contract and individuals gave up some personal liberties in return for protection. A person would agree to such social contract only if he stood to benefit from it. Hence, the concern for the welfare of others was based on self-interest.

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[7] _Op. cit_, Mencher, p. 70.

Of the same epoch as classical economists, Utilitarians, the ethics counterpart of laissez faire, placed emphasis on happiness and its relationship to wealth. They claimed that each individual, which in those times meant each unit of society, was equal to every other unit, had equal rights and the potential to fulfill his goal and achieve happiness. "The greatest happiness, of the greatest number was an aggregate of individual states of happiness, and the goal of national policy was to increase this sum for all."[8] Distribution of wealth among all members of society was implied. Hence, while some people accepted happiness as the goal in life, not all agreed on the distribution of wealth. But we see the tension between moral and non-moral values developing as the economic foundations--laissez-faire--of 19th century Liberalism and its moral counterpart--Utilitarianism--surfaced next to each other to give direction to the emerging order.

Utilitarians and classical economists left their mark on Social Welfare policy, but did not provide the major impetus to humanize laissez-faire. That impetus came mainly from the evangelical reformers and the proponents of equalitarian democracy. Religious leaders, differing from the earlier Calvinist position of the Reformation, emphasized the responsibility of the upper classes for the more lower ones as a matter of Christian ethics. They also believed that the human condition could be improved by changing circumstances around the individual and favored wages and prices based on ethical standards rather than on the market. Despite this position, there were others who placed the burden of reform on man himself, from within. Education, recommended as a way of building the moral fiber of the poor, triumphed as the savior of the lower classes.

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[8] Ibid, p. 73.

The Lockean democratic-cooperative idea, least supported at the outset of the liberal influence, began to gain strength with the growth of the labor movement. It furthered the belief that society should provide economic security to its members as a right, and not as an outgrowth of competition or as a paternalistic response.

Regardless of the differences on how to care for the poor, there was general agreement, in early 19th century England, with the general goal of individual happiness. Nevertheless, the poor people still remained the obstacle to achieving the goal for the total society. England's practical policies, for example the Poor Law Reform of 1834, still concerned themselves only with the relief of indigence--that is, of those who were unable to work. The able-bodied poor should work.

How did America handle the Liberal philosophy?

American Scene

Americans, since the birth of their nation, have been practical as opposed to their forebears, the English, who were highly theoretical. Still, the Enlightenment had the impact on America. Many colonists were influenced by English diests and by French radicals. But the British philosopher, John Locke, had the most important and direct influence on American thought. Again, its major impact was practical.

In economics, laissez-faire dominated the scene. Yet, American economic thought in some ways bore more resemblance to Mercantilism than to Liberal Anglo thought. This was especially true of the Federalists, who did not have much faith in the socially benevolent nature of man and worked towards creating a government with central authority and with sufficient checks and balances.

More committed to the protection of property interests than people's rights, the Federalists took Locke's emphasis on society's responsibility for all its members to mean protection of property against the passions of the poor. The rich, they held, would take care of the poor, not for benevolent reasons, but because the poor had an investment in the ventures of the wealthy and vice versa. Consistent with this, Federalist Hamiltonian ideology had no problem in promulgating the Mercantilist policy of keeping a large pool of people paid low wages as a source of labor. For this they were criticized by the Utilitarians on both ethical and practical grounds.

On the other side of the coin, Jefferson Democrats drew upon French radicals. Arguing from the premise that man is rational, the Democrats highlighted the benevolent nature of man. So committed were they to this idea that some advocates even suggested doing away with formal institutions and allowing social justice to occur through the free interplay of members of society. That was Liberalism in the moral/political arena. But regardless of the radical influence, English Liberalism with its emphasis on economics emerged the victor. Even some Democrats had to agree that the economic well-being of the country could not be sustained through the free interplay of its members in the social order. The French ideology of right gave way to the English concept of interests, and the application of laissez-faire was applied exclusively to economics and not to the social world.

From these philosophical platitudes we come to their practical applications. So far as the poor were concerned, the impact of Jeffersonian ideology was non-existent. An advocate of the non-privileged, Jefferson's concept applied only to the small farmer. Policies that developed to help the poor were not unlike those of Great Britain, and perhaps a little harsher as a result of puritan beliefs. Personal behavior, usually associated with immorality, and individual shortcomings such as "idleness, dissipation, and extravagance" were generally held responsible for the state of poverty. Only a few in leadership positions recognized inadequate wages, unequal distribution of property and industrialization as causes of poverty. Consequently, persons needing assistance were treated as petty criminals. The workhouse became a penitentiary In some instances, the poor were auctioned to private individuals who would care for them and exploit their labor. The relief system was just not equipped to deal with unemployment.

Since individual behavior was largely blamed for poverty, efforts at self-betterment began to crop up. In the tradition of English Liberal ideology, education became a panacea. Not only would education serve to pull people out of the depth of poverty; it was seen as contributing to the total moral well-being of the person. A person could learn to become a good steward of God's creation--all of nature and its resources. In practical terms, this meant the improvement of technology and associated skills to further exploit nature.

Undoubtedly reflecting the Protestant ethic of Calvin, money became the gauge to judge a person's stewardship. It measured the value of a person's labor and the level of accumulation of resources. The more a person had, the better off he was. Saving became a policy which found manifestation in the establishment of savings institutions. People, poor and non-poor alike, accepted the idea and launched a savings spree. "A penny saved is a penny earned" must be a slogan from those days.

In accepting education, saving and acquisition as a means of escaping poverty, the poor in fact agreed with the prevailing attitude that the individual was responsible for his own poverty. It is not unlike the person admitting guilt by accepting a pardon, but it served a purpose in achieving a greater goal.

Neither in England nor in the United States did Utilitarianism or other ethical concerns move Liberalism beyond its major tenets of competition and rugged individualism derived from laissez-faire. Ideologies that questioned the prevailing directions given towards the maintenance of the current order surfaced. Those reactions to Liberalism are treated below under the title of Humanitarianism.

Humanitarianism

With Methodism, democratic equalitarianism and the social responsibility concept of Utilitarians, laissez-faire in its early period witnessed humanitarian concerns about the prevailing economic liberalism. However, towards mid-nineteenth century, other ideologies began to creep in as a result of laissez-faire's failure to provide for social justice. August Comte's Positivism suggested that society was an entity unto itself, moving away from the concept of the individual. Spencer advanced the organismic nature of society and Marx the cooperative nature.

Of more importance in England and later in the United States was Spencer's school whose followers acquiesced and tolerated state intervention for the purpose of increasing "the total wealth and making more just the distribution of wealth."[9] In effect, all this did was afford equal opportunities for the underprivileged to compete. Consequently, competition begins its ascent to a crowning value in American society. This Spencerian position had a two-fold purpose: 1) to increase the person's own wealth and 2) to contribute to the wealth of the state. Work, the highest value of Mercantilist vintage having undergone some modification in its ideology during Utlitarian day, fit right into the Spencerian concept. Work, was not only necessary for income, but also had intrinsic ethical value as a character-building endeavor. With the "competition opportunity structure" opened, and with ethical value attached to work, the poor could now work harder, compete, and expect a two-fold reward: money and personal worth.

Other humanitarian notions were tied to reform socialism. English socialists of the latter 19th century sought to reform existing institutions rather than espouse a revolution against industrialism and its evils. They subscribed to cooperative endeavors to provide individual fulfillment. Unions were a practical manifestation of this position. But the advocates of this kind of socialism, generally middle-class, still preferred some form of social control. They still distrusted the lower classes. Yet their lasting contribution was that social problems were seen in the context of society and not individual behavior. Social intervention was necessary to achieve justice for the underdog.

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[9] Ibid, p. 178

Generally most of the reactions against laissez-faire were heirs to 19th century Liberalism. And only with the rise of Romanticism, a movement external to the 19th century ideology, did a counter-revolution against Liberalism almost occur. Though it never gained enough strength to earn status as a revolution, Romanticism nevertheless left its mark within the economic-social arena. Concerned mainly with the individual and his sense of self, Romanticism, with the emotional, intuitive and the spontaneous, replaced rational and scientific thought as ways of achieving social justice. And while there were some disagreements within the Romantic movement, the basic underlying tenets of the nature of man were not questioned.

In England, the practical manifestation of Romanticism was seen in the Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement Movement of the latter 1800's. In the beginning of modern-day social work, these movements were efforts aimed at organizing charitable programs and at developing more effective techniques for dealing with the relief of the poor.

Americans, by nature always practical and impatient with English theoreticians, this time took a less practical approach in living out Romanticism's ideas. The American Romantic reflected the optimism and confidence on the individual. They agreed that man was the center of the universe. Moreover, he could transcend society's weakness and his conscience was the measure of the good. As a result, the American Romantic demanded the independence and total separateness of the individual from society. This belief did not find practical application in policy, however.

That transcendental position did not live long. Something interesting occurred. Ideologies or their component ideas and values can coexist; they can bring together those components that help reach a desired goal, or one ideology can overtake the other and exterminate it. In the case of American Romanticism, a coalescence occurred with elements of Social Darwinism, resulting in a combination that supported the successful entrepreneur--the "robber baron". The successful person demonstrated his superiority by having survived as one of the fittest. He also had managed to transcend the majority of society. Hence, what started as a reaction to the dehumanizing philosophy of laissez-faire, resulted as its supporter.

But there were other concerns displayed through social action. In the early 20th century, American social action stemmed from the Social Gospel (that is, the application of the teachings of Jesus), rather than from a non-religious humanitarianism. The emphasis was on love of neighbor, cooperativeness among people, and social justice for all. Unlike Romanticism, Social Gospel beliefs found practical application in the Settlement House Movement, the labor movement and in the political world in general. It also tickled the conscience of followers of laissez-faire.

Other humanitarian movements have been influential in shaping the course of Western thinking especially the United States. They will be discussed in the following section.

Contemporary American Values

Nineteenth Century Liberalism and its economic philosophy of laissez-faire had failed to supply the necessary social support required of 20th Century America. Advances in knowledge of individual and social behavior had given another view of the nature of man. Accordingly, social interdependence began to gain acceptance over the belief that individual competition would lead to a stable and just society. Words such as "social good, social risk, social protection, social justice, social policy and public interest"[10] mirrored behavioral science terminology. At the same time, the economic ideology of John Maynard Keynes was introduced. His doctrine of placing responsibility for economic expansion on the state was compatible with the values of human rights. People had a right to income support. Keynesian ideology gave them work for pay, even though it was accomplished through artificially created jobs. In the face of the Great Depression, society began to accept Keynes and the new and bold social programs of the New Deal,which his ideology espoused.

But the acceptance of social responsibility and human rights threatened the idea of individual property rights. Yet the principles of social interdependence supported by the philosophy of pragmatism continued. John Dewey, leading exponent of American Pragmatism, held that the economic system was not an end in itself; it was a means or instrument to support the value of freedom and worth of the individual. Social control was at the service of human freedom.[11] Welfare was in fact a liberating factor freeing those people under the oppression of poverty to become fulfilled individuals.

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[10] Ibid, p. 328

On the other hand, heirs of laissez-faire ideology continued to oppose the Welfare State. Though not bound on eliminating it, critics pointed out that the emerging bureaucratic machinery of welfare would lead to individual dehumanization. The right for the individual to choose his social services was denied, they affirmed. An example of this individual intrusion is the federal government's compulsory social insurance program. Milton Friedman has suggested a guaranteed income administered through a negative income tax as an alternative to existing programs.

Criticism from the so-called "left" has suggested even more radical reforms. But radical socialism has not taken roots. Instead, capitalist adherents have advocated the principle of capitalism for every man. While not every person has become a "capitalist", the idea of opening the opportunity structure to all has had some success for the capitalists themselves. For with mass production of goods available to and within the reach of almost every American, consumerism has evolved as another crowning value. Today the main reason for stabilizing the American family is that it is one of the most significant consumer units in our society. Individuals have accepted money and purchasing on credit as an instrument of survival and a good life. Every man a consumer is a more accurate description of what has occurred.

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[11] Michael Novak, American Philosophy and the Future pp. 5-12

The emergence of social responsibility as a moral value to counter-balance individual self-interest has not resulted in revising the concept of work. It still maintains its high position of earlier Mercantilist days. A significant factor in governmental policy, in terms of employment and manpower training programs, work is still the determining factor for granting welfare assistance. If a person is employable, he must work. There are, to be sure, other programs of income protection that meet the needs of the unemployed, but work holds its majestic position. Despite advances in technology, and the body of knowledge related to it that questions the utility of work in terms of the economy, the ingrained attitudes of work have not been erased. It is assumed that people gain dignity from employment. But employment is equated with work, when this does not necessarily hold true. People who "work" are not necessarily "employed". The employed person does not necessarily "work."

Perhaps the most significant change in values in relation to social responsibility was seen at the outset of the War on Poverty. In the midst of high employment and a high gross national product, America had one fifth of its population in poverty. Many of the approaches known to behavioral scientists had been applied to relieve the situation. The knowledge explosion had told us that technology could handle most of the production of goods and society still argued the virtue or vice of work and the morality of remedial programs for the poor. Consequently, the question was finally seen as one of moral value. Poverty was a moral issue; it concerned human goals, not merely economics. Strategists and political leaders must have wondered why in a prosperous and democratic nation some of its citizens were incapable of using the opportunities available to most Americans. Racial discrimination reflected in institutions was one of the problems. "Cultural deprivation", lack of education and of survival skills constituted other impediments to participating in the opportunity structure.

As a consequence, remedial programs of an educative and social nature were created and implemented. After considerable pressure the courts took action of the racial issue. Congress tackled the same problem and made available the resources that gave the poor an equal chance, at the start, at least. The results have been that some people have taken the opportunities and entered the economic arena. Others have taken advantage of education. And the conscience of some leaders have been absolved. The tally still shows poverty in the midst of plenty; Capitalism, i.e., production by a few and consumption for everyone.

The spirit of the Civil Rights movement together with the programs of the War on Poverty, created an environment that made the recipients of welfare assistance organize themselves and affirm their rights as consumers of services and income assistance. This movement attacked earlier beliefs that recipients of income were immoral and incompetent, affirming instead their humanity and worth. As a result, while Milton Friedman offered alternatives to the current income maintenance programs that would assure the individual's rights, the recipients themselves became strange bedfellows with a generally conservative economist.

More questions than answers await America on issues of human values, material progress, social responsibility, and human survival. But to the majority of aware people, the greatest issue is the tempering of survival with human fulfillment; thus, assuring the survival of the human species.

Michael Novak points out that science has been emphasized to the point that any investigation or action must be value-free and objective. Furthermore, the knowledge explosion and the great technological advances have led this country to a position where it can achieve anything it desires. Yet the question remains: Should or ought it? No one seems to be dealing with this question within the traditional disciplines of value theory. The communication and transportation advances, again connected to technology, have placed our populace in contact with other worlds, some pre-industrial in nature. We have learned that there are other values, perhaps even more humanitarian, and some are beginning to be incorporated in American lifestyles. Also, with efforts such as the Peace Corps and the War on Poverty, the middle and upper classes have come in contact with poor and pre-industrial peoples in this country. Questions are raised about their traditions and their values. Hence, a renewed interest in a non-aristocratic humanities is growing. Oral history, folklore and folk art are new bases for a study of humanity. Finally, humankind has witnessed its great advances all because of the use of reason and intelligence. Concommitantly, we have noticed the shambles we have left in the world as a result of the primacy of man's control over nature. The scientific question raised is: Will the human species survive? The moral question is: Should he?

What follows is a review of the Mexican experience from the point of view of a history of values. As in the above description, the ensuing discussion reflects theoretical viewpoints and their application in social policy.

THE MEXICAN EXPERIENCE

Ideological Antecedents of Chicano Thought

Since the triumph of modern science most industrialized nations have discarded the mythical aspects of society as occult and inferior to reason in developing policies and in cultural action. Consequently, the intellectual history that reflects values and value theory of the new world begins with the European conquest. The exclusion of pre-Columbian ideas does not imply their death, for although not much of the Indian tradition is reflected in North American beliefs, except among native Americans, the opposite is true in Mexico. In Mexico, and in parts of southwestern United States, a new race was born as a result of the mixture of Spanish and Indian--

the mestizo. But while the mestizo was born of the two stocks and cultural traditions, European thought and values became the basis for action and government policy. Indian myth was suppressed; yet it still manifests itself in some lifestyles and in religious ritual. With the Chicano movement and the introduction of the myth of Atzlan to Chicano thinking, Indian myth and values have found prominence. Moreover, many of the moral values undergirding cultural action in the Chicano community may have roots in those pre-Hispanic myths. Accordingly, a brief discussion of them follows:

Pre-Hispanic Myth[12]

The positivist paradigm of August Comte may be useful here. He argued that Human's first effort to understand and give meaning to reality was theological. From there man proceeded to metaphysics and finally to the modern scientific method. We may say that human's pre-rational way of interpreting and giving meaning was found in myths with heavy religious overtones. These myths we assume were derived from the collective unconscious and were known by intuition.

In Nahuatl myth, as in many other Indian myths, humans were preoccupied with knowing the mysteries of the deity who resided in Topan - Mitclan, two extreme regions in the life beyond. Man, however, found himself living and struggling to sustain his life between these two extreme regions. To approach the deep mysteries of the beyond, Nahuatl sages held conversations with themselves--they meditated. They also participated in flor y canto--flower and song--which is the world of art, poetry, and symbol. Through flor y canto, the gods were invoked and praised. The ritual also brought people together in friendship.

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[12] Miguel Leon Portillo, "Pre-Hispanic Thought", in Major Trends In Mexican Philosophy, pp. 2-57.

Praising and glorifying the deity was of paramount importance. In Aztec myth, the relationship to their god Huitzilopochtli--god of the fifth sun--Quinto Sol--was one of collaboration to sustain the sun. They believed that in the struggle to create the Fifth Sun, the gods had shed of their blood. Aztecs subsequently made a covenant with the triumphant god, Huitzilopochtli, which bound them to sacrifice human blood--the heart. This was their contribution to keeping the sun alive and rising every morning. Sacrificial subjects came from neighboring tribes through the famous wars of flowers.

Following the successful wars with earlier inhabitants of Mexico that placed the Aztec nation on top, the wise-men of their time developed a political theory based on myth that among other things, called for division of land among the best warriors. An economy similar to the medieval feudal system developed as a consequence. The Aztecs' commitment to glorifying the deity continued while those subservient supported the ruling class.

In an area more akin to psychology, yet metaphysically grounded, the early Nahuatl myth described the human being by two metaphors--the face and the heart. When a child was born, neither his face--his moral physiognomy or character--nor his heart--the mobility, dynamics and nucleus of his being--were well-defined. In this child's development and education he acquired a face and got his character. This was accomplished by giving wisdom to the face, by learning survival techniques, by learning the legends, myths, the world view from which his being emerged. At the same time the heart was becoming rooted. This process occurred by having discourse or meditation with the heart. Using modern day terms, a well-educated person reflected wisdom in his face or character, while his heart was planted firmly and rooted deeply, which led to a profound understanding of life.

The following Nahuatl poem more aptly describes this concept best:

> The mature man:
> heart as firm as a rock,
> a heart resistent like the trunk of a tree;
> a wise face,
> master of a face, master of a heart,
> able and understanding.[13]

Unlike current educational concepts in which education is perceived as permanent once acquired, Nahuatl education, or wisdom of face and firmness of heart, could be lost if not maintained. Hence, education was a way of life, a constant meditation and a learning, living process.

In the practical temporal world, pre-Hispanic Americans used gold and silver as symbols of beauty to praise God; they also gave them prestige. No economic value was ascribed to them. Although in the latter Aztec Empire, land was divided among the military aristocracy, generally pre-Hispanic concepts of private ownership and rights were absent. It is believed that cacao seeds were sometimes used as currency, but generally, theirs was a barter economy. Mining was important but the yield had no economic value. Hence, agriculture was the basis of the economy, with the people progressively domesticating wild plants to assure their replication and from these they survived. Because of the Aztec's profound respect for cosmic forces, the people lived a life harmonious with nature rather than one of where man was master over creation.

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[13] From Codice Matritense de la Real Academia Vol. 109 in Miguel Leon Portillo's Pre-Hispanic Thought, p. 26.

Turning to North American pre-Hispanic myth, we will briefly review the Hopi creation myth. According to Frank Water's report in the Book of the Hopi,[14] the world has been created and recreated four times, the last three having been new creations because of the destruction of the earlier worlds. Those who broke the cosmic law were destroyed. From the ant people, the refugees who survived because they were in harmony, learned work and industry, a virtue their Creator hoped they would incorporate into their lives. Equally, or even more important, the ants shared not only their shelter, but their food, depriving themselves rather than not feeding their guests. The ants would simply "tighten their belts" when the food supply was insufficient. That is why the ants are crimped at the waist today, a daily reminder of how they shared. Upon the creation of the next world, the refugees returned. They were industrious and hard workers. Some continued to share and live in harmony, but others became selfish and industrious to such an extreme that it became a vice. They began to accumulate material goods and to exploit their fellow humans and the rest of creation. Once again the world was destroyed and those who lived on went back to the ant people for shelter. They emerged to the third world. Again, some disobeyed their Creator's command, leading once more to the destruction of that world and eventually to the creation of the world we live in today, the fourth world. In both third and fourth worlds, the people who did not follow the Creator's commands valued the accumulation of material goods, to such an extent that trade and exchange of goods, in short, the business of accumulating wealth, became paramount. The fourth world according to the Book of the Hopi is supposed to be the epitomy of consumerism, commercialism and industrialism.

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[14] From Frank Water's Book of the Hopi, 1963.

In the Hopi myth the sun is the universal father; earth and corn are universal mothers to whom a child is returned once parents have brought him or her into the world. Persons must respect and live harmoniously with the universal parents. Accordingly, this view of parenthood, coupled with the Creator's demand of justice, respect and love for all creation and the Creator, leaves a view of the world unlike the values that were introduced by the European conquerors.

The Conquest

"The usage of the greatest number has commonly established that those persons be called philosophers who order things rightly and govern them well."[15] Aristotle, whose philosophy St. Thomas baptized Christian, believed that ethics was the business of the state. Since Scholasticism was the dominant philosophy of Spain during the conquest and Mexico's guiding intellectual light for several centuries, one can assume that the New World had concern for human values and that the state played a major role.

The first problem of a moral nature and therefore of political consequence that Spain had to resolve in the wake of the conquest was to discern the nature of man and determine whether Native Americans were human. Subsequently, Spain was questioned on the treatment of Indians by its own leadership.[16]

Following heated debates, with some friars testifying that Indians were savage by nature, others arguing that they were human and others accepting their humanity by claiming them vassals, Spain finally recognized the humanity of Indians. Offsprings of the union of Spanish and Indian were in fact human and ought to be baptized. The first decision having been made accordingly, and a new race having been born and sanctioned, Spain and the Church replaced Indian religion with

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[15] From St. Thomas Acquinas, quoted by Jose M. Gallegos Rocafull in "Philosophy in Mexico in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," in, *Major Trends in Mexican Philosophy*, p. 95.

[16] *Op. cit.*, Gallegos Rocafull, p. 96.

Christianity rather than offering the European religion as a fulfillment. Catholicism and Indian religion had certain similarities in beliefs and rituals. And the Church holding to the medieval world view that nature is moral and rather lax in its acceptance of other rituals led the two traditions to integrate some of their practices under Catholicism. (I suggest that this amicable environment led to a healthy tension which resulted in the mestizo. The dialectic was between Christian incarnation and Indian immanentism.)

The political question of Spanish sovereignty did not pose any problems. Spain ruled and Indians became their vassals. Laws were promulgated and Indians were expected to follow.

The appearance of a foreign people on their land posing and acting as their rulers was no doubt a shock to the Native American. Yet, it has been suggested that the Conquest had similar impact on Spanish life, both at home and in the New World. At the beginning of the 16th Century, Spain was a prosperous and fairly stable nation. The commercial revolution had roots in its soil. Factories were beginning to rise in the Spanish countryside, serfs were becoming free peasants participating in the incipient industrial development. By the end of the century, Spain was in shambles. Mercantilism, the ideology of commerce, was active and viable in northern Europe. When this ideology was applied by Spain it served only to achieve the goals of building Spain politically and economically, but Mercantilism's corollaries of helping the poor were completely ignored. Moreover, the discovery and conquest of the New World, coupled with the Spanish character of adventure and love of leisure led to Spain's degeneration. Spanish soldiers came to the New World looking for individual liberty at the price of gold. They used Indians as slaves to mine the precious metal to which they ascribed an economic value, heretofore absent in Indian thinking. Spain, following only certain aspects of Mercantilist doctrine, stunted New Spain's economic development by not allowing it to grow or produce anything that would duplicate Spanish products.

With Feudalism close to extinction, Spain employed a semi-feudal institution called encomienda. In that system, small landowners and "free peasants" gave themselves or commended themselves to nobles and other powerful landed people to work for them in exchange for economic security.

Prior to the conquest of New Spain, Spain had leveled the small indigenous economy of ther New World Colonies, resulting in starvation for both natives and Spaniards. As a consequence, the Crown instituted encomiendas, dividing Indians into groups and categories and placing them under the tutelage of a Spanish layman. The results were disastrous, the encomienda becoming a euphemism for slavery. With the arrival of the Dominican order in Española, the Church and the Crown got together and instituted another kind of welfare system under the Church, and eventually the encomienda system underwent "welfare reform".

The encomienda institution in a revised form was introduced in New Spain following its conquest. The conquerors found fertile ground for this semi-feudal institution. People had endured labor in agricultural fields. After the Aztec wars, land had been placed under warrior-lords with peasants under them working land communally for their own subsistence. The new masters were accepted with indifference. Natives got land to cultivate for their use. Also they paid their new masters tribute. Encomienda lords became privileged aristocrats and as they died, the Crown inherited some of the encomienda. Yet, many encomendados passed on their land grants and "serfs" to their heirs, allowing the paternalistic system to continue.[17]

Out of the diminishing encomienda system emerged another semi-feudal system that prevailed until the revolution of 1910--repartimiento. Based on the principle that the state might force its citizens to do work as necessary for the good of the nation, this system was applied to all. Workers, all Indians, labored in the production of food, in mines, in the construction of public buildings and of irrigation canals. They received remuneration established by law for their work. In situations where Indians could not or refused to perform the tasks, black slaves were brought in. The repartimiento system was also exploited, creating a low wage peonage system for government bureaucrats.

Not much different from repartimiento was the debtpeonage system where wages were advanced to workers in exchange for work. People were often committed to a benefactor for a lifetime. The returns were minimal.

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[17] L.B. Simpson, "The Colonial Experience: Work in Utopia" in Chicano Studies, edited by Levie Isauro Duran and H. Russell Bernard, 1973, p.132.

Such is the history of "welfare" under early colonial rule in Mexico. We assume that this set a pattern in the minds and styles of those who establish government policy and on the recipients of the benefits, and that this has affected the Mexican and Chicano people to this day.

Rise of Mexican Conscience

Economic security for the working class--the Indian--in New Spain was almost non-existent. The underlying values of officials in New Spain were those of avarice and exploitation to purchase the freedom for Spain and its people. The *good* was defined by Spain's success. The consequences were *bad*, for the natives.

But Spain was not devoid of humanitarian values; the fact that Indians were not exterminated may be pointed out as a value, though one cannot deny that slavery falls short of a moral value. And for all the oppression that the Catholic church and Scholastic theology may have caused, even in the early days of the conquest, a profound humanitarian spirit was moving. Men were beginning to question the authority of the Church. Followers of Erasmus (1466) began to de-emphasize the external controls of the Church. Soldiers who came from Spain favored poverty over wealth and advocated for communal property.

As with the issue of the nature of man, considered when the humanity of the Indian was being debated, questions of moral value were confronted by the Church from an Aristotelian, metaphysical and ethical base. In the medieval world view, all matter that manifested itself in form had as one of its characteristics, purpose (goal or function). Whatever had actualized its potential, whatever was, had a function. If it had a function, it was fulfilled and thus of value--good, and beautiful. Since ethics was the business of the state, the ones who governed did so for the good of the individual. This was the natural way. Through a social contract individuals agreed to give a sovereign, in this case the state with Church sanction, the right to rule them.

During the period of Scholastic reign, the mind, spirit and economic development of New Spain was suppressed. Yet, the clergy were humanitarian; they controlled education and ministered to the masses. Through their educational endeavors, priests were introduced to the ideas of the European Enlightenment that eventually played a significant role in emancipation from Spain.

Nevertheless, New Spain had its own thinkers that began to lead the colony to a scientific position. Around mid-seventeenth century, astronomer-philosopher Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora began to apply the scientific method to his observations. Gradually the transition began, leading to the political actions of the War of Independence and on to Positivism.

While much has been said about the influence of the Enlightenment, the Age of Reason and the French, Mexico looks towards its own intellectual development for independence from its own praxis--thought and action. As the enlightened Jesuits and middle class intellectuals thought about the colonial condition, they recognized that the philosophical tradition of contemplating reality must give way to action that reflected thought and thought that reflected action.[18]

Priests looked back nostalgically to the dreams of colonial clergymen who sought to build the Apostolic church, but were superceded in their efforts by political and economic goals. The Criollo intellectual also saw independence from Spain as an opportunity to begin with Mexico's own history--from the Conquest on, yet giving some credibility to the Native American's own tradition. Indians, though not wholly believing that they could attain pre-Hispanic status, recognized that the Spanish Magna Carta of 1550 had freed vassals, which included them. They saw the oncoming war as holding something good for them.

Hence, the middle class, the landed rural criollos, and the Jesuits began to develop a sense of consciousness about community. Economic needs of the middle class coincided with the quest for the emancipation of the spirit. As the need for action surfaced, peasants joined the other interest groups and the War of Independence was launched. Interestingly, El Trovo del Cafe y Atole used in the oral history section of this paper was written around this period.

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[18] Luis Villoro, "The Ideological Currents of the Epoch of Independence," in Major Trends in Mexican Philosophy, p. 186

However, as victory was imminent, the Criollo middle class took control, devastating the Indian and clergy's dream. The Criollo bourgeoise launched their own plan whose evolvement is discussed below.

After the War of Independence, the Mexican mind was dominated by the idea of Liberalism. Three stages of Liberalism are identified with the Mexican experience: 1) the rationalistic, 2) the anti-rationalistic, 3) the positivist.

Anti-rationalism influenced the reform period the most. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, a romantic spirit pervaded as Mexico attempted to mimic the United States. Reform theorists under the leadership of Jose Maria Luis Mora accepted British Utilitarian principles. In the Reform Plan of 1833, Mora wrote that "work, industry, and wealth make a man really and reliably virtuous."[19] Lacking a sound ideological foundation and the capitalistic base enjoyed by Great Britain and the United States, the Romantic ideals coupled with Utilitarianism led to a period of anarchy and political turmoil.

Civil war followed the enactment of the new constitution. Opponents of Liberalism summoned Napoleon, who was later defeated. Maximillian was executed and Benito Juarez came back to power. Cognizant of the perils of freedom without restraints, Juarez came under the banner of order; order to protect the interest of the middle class, who were in favor of industrial and material growth. The middle class was not industrialized, but composed of landowners who insisted in exploiting the peasants and the national treasury.

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[19] P. Romanell, Making of the Mexican Mind, 1952, p. 41

Reform thinkers looked back at the social and political disaster left since the War of Independence. In formulating the new order, Positivists found the order of the Colonial Period unacceptable. In Comte's Paradigm, that epoch reflected the Theological Stage and did not lead to freedom. And while the second period was in the Liberal tradition, it had resulted in anarchy. That was the Metaphysical Stage with no practical controls. Accordingly, the last stage must be Positive, where liberty in the material order would be guaranteed by the state. This was to be accomplished by the state interfering in the moral affairs of man and leaving the economic sphere absolutely free for individual competition.

Mexican thinkers believed that to be free is to follow one's moral impulses, which consequently will distinguish between what _is_ and what _ought to be_; the individual will take the path that does not impede moral goals. The person who uses this freedom egotistically is not truly free, they affirmed. And because of potential misuse of freedom by man, the state can interfere in his moral affairs. Education became the means for this _interference_. It assured the creation of an enlightened person whose morality towards his fellow man, as well as his commitment to the material growth of the state, would be guaranteed.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, this was the philosophy of social justice in the face of material development. However, this system did not go beyond the bourgeoise, whose only goal was the development of order for material success. Theoretically, the humanized rich would help the poor.

However, Mexican thinkers, though mimickers of Western ideologies, did not find everything acceptable in Comte's position. The individual's subordination to the social world was unacceptable. Specifically, they accepted the aspect of Spencer's Social Darwinism that opposed state intervention in matters of wealth, and Utilitarian John S. Mills'[20] ideal of individual liberty, creating a pragmatic and eclectic coalescence between aspects of two ideologies. Through the merger of these ideologies, Mexicans believed that individual freedom and economic growth could be insured. Freedom in economics and control in the social world were ideologically supported. And the practical applications were found in strong rule; thus Positivism found its way into Mexican social, economic and political life. Since it was ideologically sanctioned, Positivism under Porfirio Diaz lived as an "honest tyranny" necessary for order and material growth.

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[20] L. Zea, "Positivism", in Major Trends in Mexican Philosophy, p. 236.

Positivism was challenged by its previous advocates some years preceding the Revolution of 1910. But the most significant movement against the "honest tyranny" during the reign of Porfirio Diaz was El Ataneo de la Juventud. Led by a group of young intellectuals, among them Antonio Caso and Jose Vasconcelos, El Ataneo criticized the foundations of Positivism as a philosophy and the mimicking nature of the Mexican leadership, and moved towards establishing a Mexican identity. Jose Vasconcelos, whose penetrating insights into the world of values and his concept of La Raza Cósmica merit a more detailed discussion, will simply be introduced. At this time all we can say about his philosophy is that Vasconcelos was an aestheticist, for whom beauty held the highest value. It is equated with knowledge and with good. Vasconcelos reached into the historical past of Mexico, examined the contributions of the Anglo world and concluded that the only road to humanization was through the mixture of certain races which would become La Raza Cósmica. The birthplace and cradle for the Raza Cósmica, Vasconcelos suggested, was in Mexico and Latin America. And the mestizo, the result of the marriage of Spanish and Indian was the first example.[21] The utopian world of Vasconcelos had only one immediate impact on the welfare of Mexico. That was through education.

Another influence important to values in Mexico is the perspectivist philosophy of Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset. According to Ortega y Gasset, philosophy is a perspective on life. However, while both Vasconcelo's aesthetic philosophy and Ortega y Gasset's perspectivism may have been influential at the intellectual level, neither found application in public policy that led to a social welfare system. Yet, the experiences of the people under the different ideologies no doubt have influenced their attitudes toward life and especially economic life. This will be discussed under the Chicano experience.

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[21] Jose Vasconcelos, "La Raza Cósmica", in La America Latina de Hoy, pp. 70-90.

The ensuing section is a summary and analysis of the ideologies shaping social welfare policy in both Mexico and the United States.

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS: THE UNITED STATES WELFARE SYSTEM AND CHICANO IDEOLOGICAL ANTECEDENTS

Our ideological journey has taken us from sixteenth century Europe to twentieth century America; from pre-Columbian myth to a mestizo world. Newtonian science and the world view derived from it gave the Western world its direction during this period. Science and the Age of Reason freed humankind from the bondage of the nobility; the mind escaped the authority of the Church. Humankind indeed believed that it was created a little lower than the angels and in control of nature. Through the application of science, the necessary technology to use nature for human's desires and benefits was developed and has been growing. In this process, many people have suffered right along with nature. The ideology of Liberalism has been identified as the one responsible, both for the pleasure and the pain. Under its aegis, industrialization triumphed in America and Positivism ruled in Mexico. In all this, some have suffered, others have prospered and nature has been ravaged and raped. Yet the human species has survived.

But why did the United States emerge as an industrial power with a welfare system and Mexico an industrially underdeveloped country with no welfare system to speak of? To Chicanos, this is a significantly important question. For we are Mexicans in the United States, and while we have a distinct history and ideological past, more and more we are becoming part of the American scene and adherents of its value system, as we share of its benefits and products. Yet we cling with a moralistic nostalgia to those values we claim our own; some of us even declare that Chicano values could help humanize a post-industrial society.

I suggest that the differences between Mexico and the United States are rooted in the history of ideology. Everett Hall[22] suggests that while southern Europe and Mediterranean countries gave birth to modern commerce, they did not bring the economic revolution to fruition because they lacked an ideology. Meanwhile, northern Europe went from the transitional ideology of Mercantilism to Liberalism. The economic foundation of Liberalism was and is laissez-faire; it embodies non-moral values. Its moral foundations were either Utilitarian or Social Darwinist. In the New World, colonial thinkers applied the principles of John Locke to develop the new nation by using its natural resources to the maximum. They developed a corresponding social and political system that resulted in an industrial growth and great accumulation of wealth for some. Through the belief that its destiny was to spread this gospel throughout the hemisphere, America's influence spilled into Mexico. Meanwhile, the United States wanted more land to continue its industrial expansion.

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[22] Everett Hall, "Modern Science and Human Values" 1956, pp. 84-89.

On the contrary, Spain did not proceed with an ideology similar to northern Europe's. Even in its application of Mercantilism, Spain impaired Mexico's economic growth. Instead of developing a new society, individual Spaniards sought their personal liberty and used Indians as their slaves. As Mexico gained independence from Spain, America's success looked very good in their eyes. They attributed the United States' growth to modern science; consequently, Mexico ventured into the new science on its own. Mexicans copied aspects of Liberalism and applied them to develop Mexico's material potential. The transplanted ideology was selective in its benefits, helping only the middle class and not contributing to a social welfare system. As we will note later, rather than developing a dialectic tension between moral and non-moral values (between Utilitarianism and laissez-faire), Mexico divided the moral/political from the economic aspects of social life.

Not to oversimplify the matter and declare that the differences between Latin America and the North Americans rests solely on the presence or absence of an economic ideology in years past, an examination of a constellation of factors that may have contributed to the divergent historical developments follows.

Obviously many factors could have influenced northern Europe, leading it to its key position in the industrial nations of siciety. It has been suggested that geography and climatic conditions may have set the Anglo on its particular course, and eventually led to an ideology of commerce and the subsequent practical manifestations of industrialization. In the face of a hard and cold environment, northern European thinkers and inventors may have been forced to find easier ways of carving out a livelihood. Entrepreneurship, production, profits and the factory system may have been the most viable alternatives.

There were other variables and dynamics, however, that either supported or facilitated the growth of commerce. The Protestant Reformation was rooted in the northern country. With their view of humans as basically evil, thinkers of the Reform tradition suggested that redemption could be found through work, good stewardship of God's creation and the ownership of material goods. Moreover, the Protestant Reformation weakened the authoritarian hold of the Catholic church, clearing the way for the acceptance of modern science. The climate was therefore prepared for another view of man and the human condition. All of these factors created the need for people to seek a new life and freedom in a new world.

What follows is a discussion of Anglo values leading to an outline of the economic and moral foundations of Liberalism.

Summary of Anglo Values

Today's welfare system is founded on a mixture of economic, political, moral, religious and humanitarian values. The intermingling of these values in some form or another was evidenced since the beginning of the transition from a feudal economy to the present industrial system. In Mercantilist doctrine, work was necessary to sustain and increase the power and wealth of the state. It was also a religious duty and a moral responsibility. Absence of work was a vice and it led to bad personal and social consequences. While the mercantilist leadership saw poverty as a necessary incentive to work, they also accepted a paternalistic responsibility for the poor who could not work. Hence, by the beginning of Liberalism and the laissez-faire era, work as an ideology was established and was saddled with both moral and economic consideration.

Liberalism and the laissez-faire doctrine evolved out of the modern scientific method which was based on a Newtonian world view. The nature of man had been reassessed. The new idea saw the individual as the foundation of society--matter and spirit embodied in empty space. Furthermore, this individual was seen as necessarily free; free especially to compete with other individuals in the world of economics. Accordingly, the ideology of work took a slight turn and became deeper ingrained. Through work and competition, the individual could accumulate wealth and gain respect, worth and dignity. Tied to Calvinist doctrine of the Reformation era, work and free competition also offered redemption and salvation.

The resurgence of humanitarianism in the face of scientific progress and laissez-faire pointed out the dilemma of free individualism and social responsibility. No longer could the conscience of men allow for this philosophy of laissez-faire to continue unchecked. Debates on this issue continue to this day. The reaction against laissez-faire has produced a dialectic tension between free enterprise and social responsibility. The former being the economic foundation and the latter the moral and social foundation of Liberalism. The synthesis today is the welfare state, for we can see in its programs elements of the two positions. But before the welfare state emerged in the wake of the economic disaster of the thirties, other programs had grown from the same tension. England gave birth to the Charity Service Organizations from a dialectic tension between Romanticism and laissez-faire. In the United States, Romanticism joined Social Darwinism, creating from the union the romantic "robber barons" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Mexico had some of the same ideological influences as the United States. But because of Spain's colonial policy of non-industrial development in its colonies, the absence of a truly Mercantilist ideology, and the fact that Mexico's labor force has been made up of Indians, another dynamic occurred.

No dialectic between individual laissez-faire and social responsibility developed. Instead, liberal ethical ideologies such as Social Darwinism joined with Utilitarian principles to support laissez-faire in economics, bringing to Mexico an economy based upon laissez-faire and social responsibility concepts. Mexico ideologically separated the non-moral--its economics, from the moral--government and politics. The individual was to continue as a free agent in economics with no government interference. Government exercised its control exclusively in the realm of politics and morality, i.e., humanization of the rich through education, so they could support the beggars. In a paternalistic tradition, the wealthy would help the poor.

In the United States, the values of human worth and dignity, coupled with the increase of knowledge were buttressed by pragmatic philosophy. Basic human freedom and autonomy were paramount and had to be enhanced through the rightful use of authority. Freedom through social control became an instrument to achieve worth and dignity, and the economic system was to serve as a means of freedom and liberation. The welfare system is the method by which the material order carries out its ethical instrumental functions. All this affirms that in the American pragmatic philosophy all values are instruments or means to an end. In contrast, traditional Chicano values are not a means to an end. Rather, they are virtues, i.e., moral values, and an end in themselves. Interestingly, it was Pragmatism that facilitated the synthesis of economic and moral values.

The knowledge explosion continues to exert its influences. Besides a different view of man, we are getting a different view of work. Work, as previously emphasized, may not be necessary for the production of goods. But the concept of work is so deeply rooted that even some of the most recent welfare programs reflect the value of work. Witness work or preparation for work as conditions for AFDC. Moreover, technology has not only been useful in developing techniques for increased production, but has also succeeded through communications in developing its counterpart--the consumer. Consequently, consumerism has emerged as a value. In the face of this, the family still remains important to society. Now its value may not lie in its internal social functions. Instead, it has become significant for its external functions, as the most important consumer units in society.

The democratic principles of human rights, equality and cooperation have always influenced the social responsibility function antithetic to laissez-faire. The emergency programs of the Great Depression and later the War on Poverty and Civil Rights program have given life to these principles. In the light of this spirit and the pragmatic notions of modern day economists who suggest a guaranteed income, American society may be facing a drastic change in its welfare system.

In summary, welfare is the synthesis of the dialectic tension between individual free enterprise and social responsibility. Chart A is an outline of the economic, moral and social foundations of ideology and its component values showing the resulting synthesis.

CHART A

I. Mercantilist Period

A. Economic foundations		B. Moral, social foundations
1. Mercantilism, wealth and power of state	NO DIALECTIC TENSION	1. Rise of secular society
a. values		a. values
i) work, social economic, religious		i) nature of man-depraved, free, independent
ii) poverty, incentive to work		ii) rights-thru work, life, liberty, property
iii) paternalism-benevolence		iii) laws of nature-justice, equality, modesty, mercy, (not reflected in practice till later in history)
iv) acquisition and ownership thru labor		iv) reason
v) reason		v) social contract and central authority
vi) contracts for agreements		vi) family (legislated in New England)
		vii) work a moral responsibility

BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRIALISM

In the Medieval world, new economics and ethics were not separated; thus, the moral and economic foundation were inter-related, and no dialectic tension could occur.

II. Nineteenth Century Liberalism

A. Economic Foundation

1) Laissez-Faire

B. Moral Social Foundations

1) Utilitarianism, Social Darwinism

Modern science opened the way for the application of new knowledge to: 1) industrialization as well as to 2) free inquiry into human problems resulting from industry. In laissez faire, as in Utilitarianism/Social Darwinism, the individual is the foundation of society; hence, a dialectic tension between Laissez Faire and Moral and Social Foundations begins to emerge.

a. values

- i) work-labor became standard of value commodities
- ii) things have value in use or in trade
- iii) individual freedom in commerce (every man a merchant)
- iv) competition-winning
- v) self-interest
- vi) acquisition in quantity
- vii) survival of fittest
- viii) contracts, alliances, to corporations
- ix) human's mastery over nature

a. values

- i) greatest good to greatest number
- ii) benevolence natural to man
- iii) individual human rights
- iv) man over nature
- v) knowledge as power-education
- vi) survival of fittest
- vii) enlightened self-interest
- viii) contracts to alliances

III. Reaction to Liberalism

A. Moral-Social Reactions
  1. Humanism
    a. Values
      i) self-worth, dignity through work
      ii) society by nature cooperative

  2. Romanticism
    a. values
      i) intrinsic self-worth of individual
      ii) conscience standard for moral action
      iii) non-conformity to society-transcendence of individual
      iv) success mark of moral action

  3. Religion - Social Gospel
    a. values
      i) love
      ii) cooperation
      iii) social justice

  4. Sociology
    a. value
      i) society, not individual, base unit of social world

  5. Socialism
    a. values
      i) cooperativeness, sharing

In the United States, Romanticism and Social Darwinism joined to create robber barons. In Britain, laissez faire in tension with Romanticism created Charity Service Organizations.

The reaction to liberalism forced the moral foundations of Liberalism into tension with its economic counterpart--laissez faire. And while the simple ideas that have value ascribed to them--the values, may not seem to be in opposite positions, they are by virtue of the moral and economic foundations being in tension. There are some values, as mastery over nature and others that are shared by both sides. What makes them opposites is that in economics they serve as instruments to enhance the worth of things; in the moral side they enhance the worth of humans. Through the dialectic tension, the values enhance the worth of both.

IV. Contemporary American Scene

A. Economic Foundations		B. Moral, Social Foundations
1. Democratic Capitalism		1. Pragmatism
a. values		a. values
i) work - employment		i) work gives identity
ii) state control in economic affairs	D	ii) freedom as means to dignity
iii) competition-winning	I	iii) social control
iv) social control-to protect against poor	A L	iv) social interdependence
v) equal opportunity: every man a capitalist	E C	v) education means of self improvement
vi) consumerism	T	vi) social justice
vii) acquisition in quantity	I C	vii) rights to life, liberty property & to economic security
viii) corporate structure-contracts		viii) alliances
ix) mastery over nature		ix) man over nature

TENSION
INTEGRATING REACTIONS TO LIBERALISM

Pragmatism triumphed affirming that economic system exists for the greater end of freedom and dignity; therefore both moral values and economic non-moral ones became instruments for human worth and dignity.

V. Modern Welfare State - Synthesis

A. Synthesis of Economic and Moral/Social Foundations

1. Values

i) work-economic, intrinsic as well as extrinsic value
ii) competition with state control
iii) individual success
iv) social interdependence
v) individualism to contribute to total social health
vi) social interdependence
vii) adjustment to societal norms
viii) self-determination with social control to sustain freedom
ix) economic system instrument of individual freedom
x) consumerism
xi) mastery over nature

Current reaction to social welfare is that the bureaucracy denies freedom to clients in choosing services. Work is equated with employment. Consumerism goal of welfare. Leisure time becoming a problem.

Summary of Chicano Ideological Antecedents

The ideological antecedents of Chicano values begin with the synthesis of Judeo Christian values embodied in the political philosophy of Scholasticism and pre-Hispanic myth. This is followed by an outline of the values of the Colonial period, on to the independence and post-independence period. The basis for this dialectic tension is the world view of man over nature in Judeo Christian thought and its theological position of incarnation antithetical to the harmonious relationship to nature and immanentism of native American. Yet the amicable relationships in ritual between the two and the similarity between some values of the medieval world view and pre-Hispanic myth allowed for these basic opposite views to produce the spirit of the Mestizo. (See Chart B)

CHART B

IDEOLOGICAL ANTECEDENTS OF CHICANO VALUES

I. Myth

A. European

1) Judeo-Christian

a. Values-beliefs

- i) God universal parent sent son to die for all his children (incarnation)
- ii) love
- iii) worship
- iv) sacrifice
- v) sharing
- vi) cooperativeness
- vii) ownership through work
- viii) man lower than angels but over creation
- ix) respect for authority

DIALECTIC

TENSION

B. Pre-Hispanic

1) Nahuatl-Hopi

a. Values-beliefs

- i) Sun, earth and corn universal parents of all mankind; man responds to all creation-Creator (immanence)
- ii) harmony with nature
- iii) praise and glorify creation-Creator
- iv) work and industry not in excess
- v) non acquisitive
- vi) sharing
- vii) celebration-fiesta
- viii) life is struggle
- ix) sacrifice
- x) wisdom and rootedness of heart led to understanding-education
- xi) common ownership
- xii) respect for authority
- xiii) cooperativeness
- xiv) all public-nothing private

SYNTHESIS

MESTIZO

Values of Mestizo are reflected in outline of Chicano values at conclusion of paper.

The following do not specify values, but merely show some historical trends and general ideological positions.

II. Colonial Period - Politics-Economics

A. Spanish

1) Mercantilism inconsistently applied
    a. work for Indian vassals
    b. personal freedom for Spanish using Indians
2) Scholastic values
    a. apostolic church
    b. new state in historical community context
    c. what carries out function is good, true, beautiful
    d. man over nature
3) Spanish Magna Carta
    a. freedom for Indians
    b. Spanish vassals

B. Indian

1) Indian myth/values that appear above
2) Indian vassals
3) Paternalism-Encomienda
4) Repartimiento

Conqueror

&

Conquered

NO

DIALECTIC

III. Independence Period

A. Spanish

1) Enlightenment
   - a. right to live, liberty property
   - b. equality
   - c. man over nature

2) Importance of historical community
   - a. return to conquest days
   - b. return to Indian days

DIALECTIC

FOR A

PERIOD

B. Indian

1) Reclaim of Magna Carta 1550

2) Return to values of myth-goal of land return

3) Lost hope of return to original values towards end of war

TOWARDS END OF WAR CRIOLLO MIDDLE CLASS RETURNED TO CONTROL. END OF DIALECTIC

What follows are the basic values of 19th century Liberalism.

IV. Post Independence - Criollo Class

A. Economic Foundations

1) Laissez-Faire
    - a. values
        - i) free trade
        - ii) individualism
        - iii) competition-winning
        - iv) work-virtue
        - v) acquisition in quantity
        - vi) survival of fittest
        - vii) man over nature

B. Moral Social Foundations

1) Utilitarian - Social Darwinism
    - a. values
        - i) social control in morals
        - ii) education: humanize rich
        - iii) private land ownership
        - iv) greatest good: greatest number
        - v) survival of fittest
        - vi) romanticism - self worth of individual
        - vii) science answer to all problems - knowledge
        - viii) man over nature

Utilitarianism and social Darwinism merged, separating politics and economics. Control in morals through education. Free trade led to double standard of paternalism - mordida. Poor people reverted to myth values as they were left with no security. Led to revolution which has same aspirations of early independence period.

An analysis of the prevailing values that have underwritten a particular Welfare System in America and that have led another kind of approach in Mexico has been done. The following discussions present briefly the kinds of programs that the United States has today. Also a brief summary of Mexico's Seguro Social is presented. Although many of the Chicanos may not have had experience in the Mexican system, their memories still harbor the earlier economic conditions. Moreover, those memories may influence their view of the American System.

SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

The United States System[23]

Prior to 1776, and the subsequent formation of the United States Government, the foundations of a Social Welfare System had been established and programs were already in operation. Outdoor relief, almshouses, orphanages, hospitals, houses of corrections were in the service of the needy. From that period on, the pendulum has swung from the one position of governmental responsibility to the other side of voluntary aid. Not until the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930's did a New System of government responsibility develop.

With the Great Depression, traditional attitudes that place the burden and duty for the welfare of the poor on local governments and on voluntary agencies had to be discarded.

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[23] From the Social Work Yearbook, 1961.

With the economic catastrophe that led to great masses of unemployed, Federal and State responsibility was established. Public Welfare Departments for unemployment relief programs became accepted. And with the arrival of a new administration in Washington in 1933, bolder programs at the National level were introduced.

The first of the emergency welfare programs was the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). This program which continued until 1935, received 500 million dollars to be used as grants to states for direct assistance to those in need of work relief. In order to make sure that all categories of need were covered, the government set up a program for transients who were not eligible for local help. The drought-stricken agricultural areas also received assistance. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the National Youth Administration (NYA) were established to assist unemployed youth. Earlier planned programs as the Civil Works Administration of the Hoover era were preempted by the Public Works Administration, where they still followed a sensitive course of the contracting with private business. Free enterprise still controlled much of the ideology. And although people had to work for their assistance, opposition continued, alleging that self-reliance was breaking down.

When the direct assistance of the FERA was discontinued, the government, through Work Project Administration (WPA), continued providing jobs through work relief. At the same time, Congress enacted the Social Security Act, through which the Federal Government embarked on a program of Social Insurance of Unemployment and Old Age and Survivor's Benefits. This act took up where the FERA left off and provided for assistance to states in the form of grants-in-aid for old age assistance, programs of aid to mothers, later known as AFDC, and Aid to the Blind. It did not oover the unemployed and disabled. The 1950 amendments included these categories.

Based on the concept that mothers of dependent children should stay home and strengthen family life and should not enter the labor force, AFDC was buttressed by a value other than work--family life. However, since 1962, welfare policy has encouraged mothers to work. It has not been determined here whether this reflects a change in attitudes on the working mother in general, or was a result of the War on Poverty effort or is merely a response to adherents of the value of work who have been violently critical of welfare abuses by AFDC recipients. The facts are, however, that the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act require that a recipient of AFDC be furnished "incentives, opportunities and necessary services to find full employment in the regular economy, or that such individual find work in public service. Through these efforts, it is expected that the individual will acquire a sense of dignity, self-worth and confidence which will flow from being recognized as a wage earner." In addition to the Work Incentive Program (WIN), states have been required by law to establish community programs to develop or restore work skills for their AFDC recipients.

Research on the efficacy of WIN reveals that jobs for the poor at a near-minimum wage are not viable alternatives. Consequently, WIN has neither benefited the client in increasing income nor the taxpayer in reducing welfare expenditures. In an unpublished study related to this issue, Aliki Coudzoglou points out that research findings show at best mixed results with respect to participants gaining a secure place in the world of work. WIN at worst has turned out to be a punitive harsh measure for cheap labor; at best it provides an opportunity for AFDC recipients to find employment.[24] Perhaps the latter suffices to add human dignity and confidence to a poor person, but that is a questionable premise.

As reflected in the section on contemporary values, American society had become disenchanted with Liberalism and the laissez faire doctrine. A return to Mercantilist policy of welfare, tempered with democratic values of human worth and dignity has been evidenced since the emergency relief programs of the thirties. Opposition to a welfare state continues, however. But despite the negative voice of business interests, the emergency relief programs and subsequent New Deal endeavors have gained general acceptance.

The keystone for current social income and welfare programs, the Social Security of 1935 with its social insurance and income protection measures, anticipated the day when the majority of Americans would be covered by compulsory insurance plans. To take up the slack and cover the gap until social insurance became a reality, a public assistance income maintenance plan was implemented and included in the Act. Under the four categories of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Old Age Assistance (OAA), Aid to the Needy Blind (ANB), and Aid to the Totally and Permanently Disabled (AD), the Social Security program of welfare has survived to this day. Although the Act has been amended at almost every session of Congress, only recently has a major change of any ideological consequence taken place. Social Security was traditionally financed under a grants-in-aid program to the state which it administered. The amendments that created Supplemental Social Income in 1972 has taken from the state the responsibility for the latter three categories and has left AFDC under state administration, control, and partial financing.

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[24] Aliki Coudzoglou, an unpublished doctoral dissertation.

AFDC, the only welfare program under some state responsibility and control, perhaps has been the most controversial of all. The basis of criticism leveled at AFDC is related to the American work value orientation and the way this was tied to economic considerations from the time the state assumed responsibility for the poor. The criterion for eligibility for all programs has always been the level of income received by the recipient, his assets and property, and the capability for employment, but with the other categories, work has not been a requisite.

While work seems to continue as a crowning value, a relatively new value--population control--has surfaced in current social welfare programs. Dictated by the population explosion, especially among the poor, family planning has been instituted as a voluntary program. Not a requirement for assistance, family planning counseling is offered to recipients and has caused some negative response from some minority communities. Because of the sensitivity of the issue among people who ascribe virtue to having children, this program may never achieve the status of a requirement for assistance, but is nevertheless an issue of great concern to policy planners.

With this short summary of current welfare programs in America, we proceed to a brief discussion on Mexico's present day programs.

Mexico and Social Welfare[25]

Mexico's ideological history reflects very little of the Mercantilist philosophy on which modern day social and economic security programs are founded. Whether this occurred because Spain did not have such an ideology growing from its own experience, or because as a colonial power, it applied only those aspects of Mercantilism that supported the mother country and deprived its colonies of development has not been determined. It is assumed, nevertheless, that Mexico's social policy is a direct result of the intermingling of its ideological position with the social and political realities. And since Mexico's total historical experience and social milieu influenced the memories as well as the lives of those who are now Chicanos, the social programs developed south of the border are important for our study. Moreover, Mexico, though underdeveloped by Anglo standards, is an industrialized nation with many poor people, some of whom continue to come to the United States. And some say it will not be long before the United States expands its border southward to include Mexico's northern states under the U.S. flag.

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[25] Interview with Juan Leandro Garza, Proyecto Verdad El Paso-Juarez Border program, 1976.

The revolutionary ideology of 1910, which set the stage for today's programs was grounded on Indian concepts of land and its redistribution among those who worked it. Accordingly, following the revolution, it was believed that the implementation of its platform would solve the problems of poverty. This did not occur. Instead, according to one source, a double standard developed in which bureaucrats at all levels took the opportunity provided by their office to take care of their immediate families' needs and then those of relatives. *Primero los dientes que los parientes* expresses this clearly. In political terms this is nepotism. And to stabilize their economic and social position, bureaucrats applied the system of *la mordida* - the bite. By using means not quite moral or lawful, these agents of government penalize an individual who has allegedly violated a law or overcharge individuals receiving service; the money collected goes into the agent's pocket. The mordida, tied in to bartering for a price is an accepted way of operating, but nonetheless, such individuals are called sin vergüenzas. The other side of this behavior is a pious attitude where homage is paid, for example, to universal motherhood--la Virgen de Guadalupe. There are other accepted ways of demonstrating goodness and piety.

Perhaps the spirit of feudalism still prevalent in Mexico is responsible for this behavior. The attitude is that the rich are to help the poor and some do. This is hardly sufficient to sustain the masses of poor people. Hence, those who have an opportunity use la mordida or engage in nepotism. Those who cannot do that continue to re-enforce semi-feudal styles of life advantageous to them. The familial system of support still prevails. Kinship systems such as the godfather relationship--compadrazgo -- still serve to sustain at a minimum the social and economic health of the individual. In many situations, neighbors and persons unknown to the individual share food and other necessary goods with those in need.

Efforts to ameliorate its social condition led Mexico to institute an organized social welfare program in 1936. Called Seguro Social--Social Security--the program is designed to cover an eligible individual from the cradle to the grave. It renders services such as day care, subsidies to ejidario farmers, provides medical coverage, cultural services, and education. It covers persons of different social classes and work status, including domestic workers at one end of the spectrum, to doctors and lawyers at the other. Members must belong to a union that is part of the Sindicato of federation of unions that runs the program. Tied very closely to the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), the dominant political party in Mexico, Seguro Social has definite political implications. El Sindicato supports the party; the party assures Seguro Social's survival.

With this background already established, the ensuing discussion presents selected vignettes of oral history and folklore from the Chicano population.

THE CHICANO EXPERIENCE

Introduction

Don Simón de Mi Vida is an old folk song popular in the mountains of northern New Mexico. For generations, it has served to identify changes in society, to poke fun at the new customs and lament the disappearance of the old ones. Mana María from Llano Largo updated the old song to include the changes brought about by an industrial economy, and especially to reflect the impact of Welfare on our northern New Mexico agrarian society.

Ya yo tengo setenta y tres años	I am seventy-three years old
no pensaba yo que iba a llegar.	an age I expected never to reach.
Bien me sirve saber los extraños/	Its helped me to know what is
de costumbres que valieron más/	foreign/customs that were valued
las costumbres que ahora han	more/and those customs that now
llegado/ay que estilos señor	have reached us/oh what styles
don Simón.	señor don Simon.
En mis tiempos no había esta	In my days we had none of this
ayuda/no esperaban los cheques	help/no one awaited their monthly
mensuales. Todos los que	checks. All who were able planted
podían sembraban/o esperaban	their fields/or waited from heaven
del cielo favor.	their help.
Hoy nomás en la tienda se alcanza.	Today the store is our only survival.
Que miseria Señor Dón Simón.[26]	Oh what misery Señor Don Simón.

Mana Maria's verses are a record of changes in her society. While it is a statement of fact, it is also one of value.

A man in his nineties firmly grasped the worn-out arms of an old wicker rocking chair in which he comfortably sat and gently rocked back and forth. His voice quivered, reminding us of his age and signaling the profundity of the subject. Every other phrase accented by a pause, Mano Trinidad continued his reflections on La Buena Vida - The Good Life.

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[26] Written by Maria Gallegos, in Entre Verde y Seco, 1972.

> _El valor de las cosas se ha vendido por la buena vida del porvenir_. In translation, Mano Trinidad's discourse continues: The value of things has been sold for the promise of a good life in the future. Our communities and those activities of life that occur within have become dislocated from each other because everything comes to us by way of money and not through an intimate relationship between us and the elements. We no longer pay with sweat for our harvest. And because of that, we do not feel the soul of the earth; it has become disgraceful to soil our hands with its dust. And we fail to recognize the miracle of food because we never kneel by a plant or care for it or to harvest its good product. We do not feel the humility nor the nobility of being human because we neither do the most simple nor the most profound and complex. We are satisfied living a life of pleasure.[27]

As he thought about life, Mano Trinidad, like Mana María, reported the changes he saw in society; he also attached moral values to some of the occurrences and attitudes. He devalued others. From both statements, we learn what the two people considered good for themselves and for their society. We also know what was or is not considered good. Consequently, a value system of a generation is revealed to us. And, of course, it is communicated in a positive light. But we also note that attitudes and activities of the current generation are derided--the non-moral and instrumental values. Hence, with these brief vignettes, we get a glimpse of the problems inherent in discussing the issue of values in the Chicano community. Depending on the reporter, some values have more value than others and moral values supercede non-moral ones.

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[27] Oral History from _Entre Verde y Seco_, 1972.

What follows is a presentation and interpretation of oral histories and folklore from northern New Mexico, derived through the Academia Educational Model. The material is divided for purposes of presentation into the areas of economics and the social and moral. A discussion of El Trovo del Cafe y el Atole leads the discourse.

Economic Foundations

By way of metaphor, El Trovo del Cafe y el Atole[28], the debate between coffee and cornmeal gruel, the people of Mèxico lament the introduction of a money economy to Mexico. It is said that this piece of folklore was composed around 1800, a few years preceding the War of Independence and about the time that the peasants began to join the intellectuals in their quest for independence. The Trovo is still very much part of the folklore of New Mexico, and some people say it still reflects their feelings today. Cafe speaks first:

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[28] Folklore from Entre Verde y Seco, 1972.

"Como te va amigo atole/como has pasado tu tiempo/ desde mi pais he venido/ a formarte un argumento." Having been challenged to an argument, Atole, responds by asking Cafe who he is. In his answer, Cafe emphasizes his value and worth - "En las tiendas mas hermosas/ ahi me hallará usted." Atole, holding on to his beliefs, warns Cafe not to proceed so fast, not to be so arrogant. Cafe continues his arrogant description of how valuable he is. Atole finally asserts himself with the following verse: "Yo tambien soy el atole/y te pondre mis paradas/Que bien mantengo a mi gente/con tortillas enchiladas/con esquite bien tostado/ahora te dare noticias/ Cafe por comprarte a ti/ya no se alcanzan pa' camizas." Atole's argument is based on agrarian economics of a semi-feudal nature. He nourishes his people with indigenous corn. While Cafe intrudes through the introduction of an alien economy that demands money to purchase basically non-essential things--people can no longer afford to purchase the necessary clothing. Cafe's argument, continuously building his beauty and economic worth, proceeds until he brings the following response from the indigene: "Yo tambien soy el atole/...Que bien mantengo a mi gente/con solo labrar la tierra/y tu cafe orgulloso/... sacrificas a mi gente/de comprarte con dinero." Again, the native values are based on land, not unlike the value ascribed to mother earth in pre-Hispanic myth. The land is what sustains his people Atole asserts.

In applying the Academia Educational Model of consensual validation, we find that people see el Trovo as a reflection of their lives even to this day. For the Chicano, el *Trovo* has a happy ending. The traditional values of land, corn, and of a non-consumer economy triumph as *Cafe* becomes ill and *Atole* declares himself the winner. Unfortunately, in real life, *Cafe* has all but overcome *Atole*, and *Cafe* could well represent the ideology of Liberalism.

A recent oral history from northern New Mexico supports the affirmations of the older folklore.[29] The contributor says *"En los tiempos pasa'os cuando yo era mas mediana, las tierras eran muy fuertes y muy productivas. Se daba mucho de todito...Hoy en dia todos a la tienda pa' comprar cosas - los productos de la tierra. "* Land and its products sustained this person and her family, but the values of money and commercialism have had their impact among the rural Chicano. People use store food rather than growing their own.

In another recount, we note the Chicano of the immediate past and even of today going from semi-feudal, Mercantilist position to an industrial one. The emphasis is towards agribusiness or industrial production and from the small subsistence farms in common in northern New Mexico. The person notes: *"Mire uste 'onde tiene la gente pobre sus animales--en remiendos de tierra. Pero vaya uste a rumbo Trujillo a Wagonmound y mire lo que hay. Va ver aquellos llanotes vacios y cercos romás estorbando."* Translation: "See for yourself where the poor people have their stock, in patches of land.

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[29] Oral History, *Entre Verde y Seco*, 1972.

but you go towards Trujillo or Wagonmound and see what is there. You will see those immense plains--empty--and fences only getting in the way." There is no more grazing land for the small Chicano stock raiser; instead, the large portions of land are now owned by absentee owners who probably use the land for tax write-offs and have it there earning money without use. As a result, people have moved farther and farther away from the land and from the production of their own food. But they need money, which is not that readily available. Another source says: "Está que si no paga uno dinero, no come, todo lo traen de por fuera." Translation: "Now if one does not pay with money, one does not eat, they bring everything from the outside." A tremendous dependency on outside resources for survival has been created through a money economy.

An elderly lady living on Old Age Assistance talks about her garden over which she labored so very hard and lovingly, only to have it destroyed by a hail storm. But she did not despair. "Dios nos lo dio y Dios nos lo quitó, y tiene uno que estar conforme tanto con el bien y con el mal. No nos queda nada. Pero no nos falta Dios." What has traditionally been described by anthropologists as fatalism is here seen as faith. In a world view of mastery over nature, it is fatalism, in one of harmony, it is faith.

The situation from which Chicanos have emerged is still reflected in the way people executed their own informal mutual aid in their daily lives. Reflecting on

life in a northern New Mexico village, an elderly person recalled that: *"Antes se ayudaba mucho la gente entre si. En el verano se juntaban los vecinos pa enjarrar sus casas, primero en un lugar un dia, luego en otro...En el otoño cosechaban juntos los vecinos y por la noche desojaban pilas de maiz y amarraban ristras de canastos de chile colorado. ...luego hacian cena, comian y antonces salian todos a sus casas."* The tradition of helping each other and communally sharing food and work has all but died since the coming of industrial values. Few villages and families still help each other in the tradition described in the above vignette. In the urban barrios, the value is expressed in a different form, but the barrio way has also undergone drastic changes. Some people feel that welfare has had something to do with the slow disappearance of this value. Welfare, of course, is a good index of the inroads made by industrialism, for that is one of the first factors that really impacted on the small agrarian communities and on the Chicano.

The following describes the welfare factor and the wound inflicted on a mutual assistance tradition: *"Antes era mejor, mas que no le dieran ayuda como les dan ora. Ora les dan ayuda a tanto huevon y huevona pa' que vayan a las cantinas y se emborrachen."* Welfare aid, according to this report, and there are many who agree with the description, has encouraged idleness and laziness among men as well as women. But more important, it has discouraged people working gratis to help a neighbor.

The impact of industrial values as people have gone from self-sufficiency and interdependence in food production, defined by the piles of food to the piles of cans of food that may even be poisonous to humans, is seen in the following: "*Antes trabajabamos todos juntos y teniamos muchas pilas de maiz, trigo y alverjón. No como ora que ya no tenemos mas que pilas de jarros y esos jarros sirven pa envenenarse y morirse uno*." Translation: "In the past, all worked together and we had many piles of corn, wheat, and peas. Not like today, when all we have are piles of cans and those cans are only good for poisoning and killing us."

An elderly person in no way "wealthy" describes the impact of welfare in personal terms. "*Yo no hallo quien me venga a lavar (ropa) y si hallo quieren que les pague mucho dinero*." Used to employing local domestic help, now no one will work for what he can afford to pay with his own small social security income. Again, mutual aid traditions have been mortally wounded.

In a ballad written during the depression, title *Corrido de Rusvelt*, the general attitude towards the emergency programs praised and chided, yet adequately described them. People note the political implication.[30] "*Luego apareció Rusvelt/como el sol con resplandores/tomó administración/y contó sus senadores*." Roosevelt took control and he counted and assessed the support he might have from Congress to help the poor. The people also recognized that the new administration had given them *rights* to a decent life. "*Al mes de ser presidente/se soñó un sueño profundo/de que todos tenian derechos/de vivir en este mundo*." The assistance program to mothers with dependent children is chided, showing a bit of the moralism of earlier puritan days: "*Se presentan las mujeres/en las cantinas borrachas/toditas bien pintadas/diciendo que son solteras/y duermen acompañadas*." The availability of money heretofore absent also affected the morality of men: "*De los hombres no diré/porque a mi me causa pena/ya después del pago/siempre esta la carcel llena*." Furthermore, the corrido notes that they are getting money without even one minute of work: "*En este mes de diciembre/no es mentira lo que cuento/estamos recibiendo el cheque/sin trabajar un momento*."

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[30] Anonymous "*Corrido de Rusvelt*", contributed by Laurión "El Marro" Duran, Dixon, New Mexico, 1976.

Although critized for having broken some sacred traditions of the rural Chicano economy, welfare is seen as necessary for those who cannot work. "*Hay personas impedidas, personas que no pueden trabajar, están debilitadas, o personas que tienen chiquitos*."[31] The argument here sounds almost like that of the right wing critics of Welfare.

While work has been important to the Chicano, it did not become equated with employment until recently, when industrial values began to gain acceptance. Remuneration for work performed has become accepted. Consequently, today's generation sees the logical connection between work and money. Some older people see the connection, but accuse such attitude as the root of evil. Others accept and encourage it. Those who support work as employment claim that today's youth are not prepared or educated to work, to do things of utility for their survival. The responsibility for this omission rests with the family--the parents. Today, neither the children or the parents care about learning work skills. In earlier generations, this responsibility was accepted. A person describes her life as a child: "*Cuando tenia la edad de siete años me levantaba enpapa a las tres de la mañana pa' comenzar los trabajos de cada día y nos despachaba a mi y a mis hermanos a escardar y regar*." If the assigned task was not carried out, strong discipline followed. Children who played and left their tasks undone were punished. This reinforced the value given to respeto, verguenza, and temor. These three attitudes will receive further treatment in the section on social and moral values.

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[31] Oral History, *Entre Verde y Seco*, 1972.

The introduction of industrial values have weakened traditional attitudes of respect and interpersonal trust. Traditionally, la palabra del hombre--a man's word of honor, defined the good life among community people. The meaning of this concept is amplified here: "*En tiempos atras habia hombres pero pienso que ahora no hay. Antes un hombre le decia a otro: Amigo, presteme dos pesos, se los entrego al puesto del sol...Al ponerse el sol allí venia el hombre a devolverle sus dos pesos porque la palabra valia y era la única nota entre ellos...Ahora no vale la palabra de un hombre. Tiene* uno que arreglar papeles complicados por las leyes pa' tener los reclamos seguros." The close interpersonal relationships common and also present in feudal societies assured trust among people without needing to execute contracts or form alliances. But this quality of trust in the face of all alien values has caused Chicanos to rethink their position. "Nuestra raza siempre ha tenido mucha confianza en la persona, pero los extranjeros como no la conocen abusan de ella. Semos tan buenos que pa' nada semos bueno." Our trust and goodness renders us useless, and made us more vulnerable to strangers who were not trustworthy.

Availability of money has created conditions for people to take advantage of the system and receive money they do not deserve, some people claim. Consequently, another tradition, picaresque behavior common to the Hispanic character, emerges in a gross way. Widely known in Spanish literature for making a living in a cold and hostile environment, and then by means somewhat unheroic, turns his knowledge of survival against his master, in a money economy, the pícaro uses the system to get what he does not deserve. An excessive use of this technique for survival signifies a loss of respect or a sin vergüenza - un pícaro.

The notions of respect and vergüenza take the discussion to moral and social foundation in family life where these values are ingrained in early child rearing.

Moral and Social Foundation

Respeto translates easily to respect, *vergüenza* literally translates to "shame", but is much more complex. Alvin Korte, in a paper on *Carilla*: *Vergüenza y Respeto*,[32] suggests that conscience is to the individual and his behavior as *vergüenza* is to social behavior. It is *vergüenza* that offers controls in social interaction. Korte writes that in Spain, *vergüenza* is a moral quality, like manliness or like innocence, which it more clearly resembles. *Vergüenza*, like *respeto*, is part of the moral fiber of a Chicano. They are developed in the individual through a familial educational process which includes not only social and individual discipline, but also religious instruction. Through religious training and *crianza*, *respeto* and *vergüenza* are further reinforced by *temor a Dios y a los mayores*. Though easily translated to fear, *temor* resembles more a combination of *respeto y vergüenza*.

A personal history of a man in his thirties says: "I was brought *en el punto de que el niño se mira y no se oye*." Child rearing has been strict, requiring that the child speak only when addressed. When requested to do a favor, like bringing a glass of water to an adult, the child would bring the water and stand arms crossed in front of the adult until dismissed. Respeto comes from this type of child rearing practice.

Family life is not, or was not, that austere. Although respect was part of life since childhood, and carried on through to the courtship period of a young person, the life of Chicanos has been accented by fiesta. The following describes how family life began. "Cuando se consentia dar la novia, su papá anunciaba el día de la prenda...el era encargado de la comida y de los gastos de' sa fiesta. Cuando la gente llegaba a las vísperas a veces se quedaban en la casa de la novia por la noche...En la prenda el papá - entregaba su hija al tata y la nana del novio...hacian fiestas pa' reyes: ...Almorzaban, comian, cantaban y luego bailaban...A veces aclaraba y todavia seguian bailando."

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[32] Alvin Korte quoting Facundo B. Valdez in "*Carilla*: *Verguenza y Respeto*." unpublished paper, 1975.

Community life also has been highlighted by religious fiestas, and this is still quite common in many parts of the country. Besides serving a religious and ritualistic role, fiesta is an alternative use of time and helps strengthen family and community life. Oftentimes, fiesta is viewed as a time-wasting activity, rather than as celebration by dominant society critics. Fiesta is modern day Chicano's flor y canto. Fiesta is a most threatening concept to a workemployment oriented society.

Earlier vignettes reveal a general cooperativeness in the traditional Chicano family. People carry out tasks together--first doing the neighbors work, then yours, and so on. This type of cooperative sharing has also been a common practice in terms of exchange of goods, and especially food. A woman talks about her recent past:[33] "...My mother used to put a giant table for everyone to come...we would invite everybody to come and eat with us all the time." She continues, "...We used to share our love with each other... like for Easter, or the way you deliver your food to each neighbor." The practice of sharing food--not leftovers--"pa' que 'probe", --for a taste--is still common among more traditional families.

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[33] Oral History, Entre Verde y Seco, 1972

Children were shared, and considered not only part of the extended family, but part of the total community. They belonged to everyone and anyone could rightfully call a child "mi hijito or mi hijita." It was not uncommon in traditional Chicano families for a child to be "given" to married relatives who could not bear children, to grandparents, or a widowed grandmother or grandfather who needed someone to stay with them to provide companionship as well as assist with household chores. "Este se crió con sus abuelitos," or "Este se crió con sus tios" was a phrase often heard when describing a child reared by someone else. These children continued a close relationship with their biological parents and oftentimes went back and forth freely between the two households. This concept of sharing and rearing children was a dominant value/virtue that perhaps can be traced to the concept that children were a gift on loan from the Creator. When a baby was born, visitors who came to see the mother and new child often blessed the baby and said to the parents, "Que Dios to lo preste por muchos años." When a child died--un angelito--those who came to offer their condolences would murmur, *"Dios to lo prestó"* or *"Dios te lo dió pa' que lo cuidaras por un ratito, ahora tienen un angelito."* Thus, an infant or young child who died an *angelito* was now in a special advocacy position to intercede on behalf of his parents before the Almighty. The belief that a child was a loaned gift from the Creator ties in very closely to the Indian philosophy that a child is brought into the world by its biological parents, and that he or she belongs to earth, the universal mother to whom all of us eventually return. The break with their universal mother by some Chicanos, signals the acceptance of another lifestyle with values that are not consonant with those of the traditional Chicano, and therefore not in harmony with the physical or cosmic universe.

Familial solidarity, a value relating very closely to that of sharing is seen even to this day, when the family is confronted with a particular crisis. Many times great sacrifices are made to help and accommodate the one in need. A woman talks about changing their residence in order to help care for her father: "Yes, we lived there three years. Then we came back to where my daddy was and took care of him because he got sick." However, financial pressures and punitive welfare regulations discourage this tradition. Some people report that the welfare will offer financial support to a nursing home or an institution while denying that same type of assistance to a relative who could care for, or who takes care of an elderly person, because that relative owns a house or has some meager assets. In a society where no welfare system exists, the disparity is not noticed, as one must help each other and no favoritism exists. In this system, the bureaucracy favors the institution and the impersonal.

Chicanos see many of these traditions and practices disappearing, all because of the loss of *respeto*, *vergüenza*, and *temor*. These foundations of interpersonal relationships are crumbling because the educational system or the communications media, television in particular, have pre-empted the family's role in education. The parents neither respect the child, nor the child the parent. There is also no respect for the teacher by the students and vice versa. The cause of this decadence is attributed to the move away from an agrarian economy. In those days, people claim, there was plenty of work either on your own farm, or on someone else's. Everyone was occupied, and the survival need had all members of the family working. Economic necessity required cohesiveness. Cohesiveness both demanded and produced *respeto*, *vergüenza*, and *temor*. Industrial modes of living do not require this form of solidarity; hence, those cardinal values have begun to disappear. The family and the community suffer as a consequence.

The Chicano family is at a stage of transition, and the consequences of that are spilling over to the community, and those changes impacting back on the family. From interdependence and cohesiveness, we are moving to independence and very rarely to contractual alliances. Enough remains of the Chicano tradition that is worth identifying. And what has passed on is so recent that memories are vivid and the values, while not necessarily manifested in cultural action, are nonetheless values. Moreover, they are values to which virtue has been ascribed; they are moral values.

Summary: Chicano Values

As suggested earlier in this paper, Chicano values are subjective and moral; they are those attitudes towards life that have virtue ascribed to them. They are also believed to have intrinsic worth and qualities, which would also make them objective. Chicano values are also guides to conduct, involve will and choice and are aimed at human goals. As noted in this section, there are other values currently accepted by Chicanos that are of a non-moral nature, but useful tools for survival in an industrial society. These values are instrumental and altogether non-moral. However, as noted in some of the quotations cited from oral history, value judgements are made about basically non-moral values, something that may not be readily accepted by philosophers of value theory.

The ensuing is a compilation of values inferred or gleaned from pre-Hispanic myth, from the ideas of colonial New Spain, and the synthesis of the two, and from the human condition in New Spain under colonial rule. They have come from oral histories and folklore of the Chicano community. In doing the value analysis, I noted that some of the Chicano values related specifically to interpersonal relationships, and others were akin to human's relationship to nature. Consequently, in summary, they will be presented under those two headings.

Beginning with the individual and interpersonal behavior, we have identified three moral *values*, from which flow all the rest. They are *respeto*, respect for people; *vergüenza*, the conscience of the sociological realm, and *temor*. *Temor* is a combination of respect, faith, and fear. None of these stand by themselves as the one influences the other. A *sin vergüenza* would also be a *sin respeto*, and shows lack of *temor*. Hence, if anyone of these values slips, the others do too. And the result is a socially dysfunctional family or social group. In the absence of these virtues, conditions deteriorated.

From these values flow the rest of the values of an interpersonal nature. They are: *family cohesiveness or solidarity*, *interpersonal trust*, *harmony*, *cooperation*, *sacrifice*, *sharing*, *hospitality*, and *charity*. From among these, *trust* is key for sustaining solidarity and cooperation. *Envidia*-envy/jealousy, a dynamic often seen in the long history of Chicanos, occurs when trust breaks down. When solidarity breaks down between traditional Chicanos, alliances as formed by Anglos, are rarely practiced. Alliances are not based on trust, but on self-interest and convenience. Once solidarity and cooperativeness break down and there is no longer trust, there can no longer be a base for forming a relationship, and thus Anglo-type alliances are not within the traditional

Chicano experience. The result is a vicious *envidia* that stunts all future cooperation and destroys interpersonal relationships. When *envidia*, due to mistrust, predominates in either the life of an individual or group, the other values become rhetoric and are not seen in cultural action.

With the advent of the contract as opposed to man's word of honor--*la palabra de hombre*--in interpersonal transaction, trust as a value is constantly being weakened. Alliances, as opposed to solidarity and cooperativeness, still do not seem to be accepted in the Chicano value system. In the face of the acceptance of instrumental values, Chicanos hold to moral eternal verities. Less and less are they finding practical manifestation.

The relationship of the individual to the cosmos and all of nature, revealed in myth, folklore, and oral history, is reflected in the traditional value placed on harmony and on maintaining a sacred relationship with nature. La tierra sagrada, la tierra madre--the land is sacred; it is one's sustenance. To this day, farm workers see dignity in their work and relationship to land. The economic conditions are the ones that force their protest. Work in relation to the land and with the goal of sustenance rather than acquisition of wealth is good. Work in this sense is not necessarily equated with employment. Historically, work had been recognized only in regards to the peonage, *encomienda*, or *repartimiento* system. That was basically a slave-master relationship. Work as synonymous with employment in this country came with the Chicano's introduction to industry.

Among traditional Chicanos, faith in God and/or nature predominates over knowledge or mastery over nature. Any work that may go into nature for the purpose of survival may be lost with a natural disaster. The faithful cry as Job did: "Nothing is left of my garden, but God will provide." Or, a working man notes in time of drought, "El agüa es mas bendita que el trabajo." Water, the source of life, is thus considered more sacred than man's work or his products. Faith emerges significantly because while survival is not decried, fulfillment is a greater goal in a world view, where harmony with nature prevails. Survival and reason are paramount where mastery over nature is the dominant view. In the Chicano world view, faith leads to hope, and is the one that continues to the end--when hope is gone, nothing remains. La esperanza es la última que se acaba. In the Anglo world view, Chicano's faith and hope are termed and seen as fatalism.

Land as a commodity is an alien notion to traditional Chicanos. Its ownership is based on the individual's working it. La tierra es de quien la trabaja is a famous slogan among mestizo people from Mexico to northern New Mexico. Hence, property rights are derived from the actual relationship to it. It is, in effect, an ad hoc ownership. Adherence to this value has inflicted a lot of pain and suffering on Chicanos when Anglos, under the ideology of Liberalism, instituted laws that easily took the land from Chicanos who had another world view.

Fiesta and celebration are concepts attuned to nature as well as to interpersonal relationships. They help people become friends, as ancient sages held, and also gets people in closer harmony with the universe. It helps us confront life and death, thus making life bearable in difficult moments and meaningful through all parts of the journey. Rooted in Indian as well as Spanish tradition, celebration is important to Latin and Mestizo people. Yet, this value constitutes one of the biggest threats to the Anglo concept of work. Anchored to the primary values of respeto, vergüenza, and temor, celebration does not threaten, but strengthens the traditional Chicano society. In view of the changing role of work within the technological society, celebration and fiesta may be a very important value for the Anglo system to re-examine.

The next value, childbearing, may be as controversial to many of us, as was the concept of temor. Nevertheless, it surfaced as an important value. Derived from a respect for life and from religious beliefs, as well as from the economic necessities of an agrarian society, childbearing is still identified with life in general and the propagation of the species.

Acquisition carried to an extreme results in consumerism. Many factors in American society have led middle class people to accept consumption as a value. With the availability of money and the emphasis on selling things and preparing people to buying them, the Chicano family has joined the ranks of consumers. Rather than freeing a person as is the expressed goal of pragmatic values, consumerism binds one to the economic system. Pragmatic humanitarianism deals with the issue of consumption and consumerism by focusing its advocacy on the quality of products, and enforcement of laws to protect the consumer. No one is attacking or questioning the issue of need in terms of material goods, or of human freedom as related to consumption. In order to deal with problems such as this, a revival of humanism directed towards human fulfillment as well as human survival is necessary. Perhaps this can happen by considering in future social policy the values of Chicano people.

CONCLUSION

In order to give the reader an opportunity to see traditional Chicano values next to the values undergirding the Social Welfare System, the proceeding outline has the two systems opposite each other.

Chicano Values	Social Welfare Values
1. Respeto	1. Work-non-moral as well as moral value with intrinsic worth
2. Verguenza	2. Competiton with state control
3. Temor a Dios y los mayores	3. Individual success
4. Family cohesiveness/ solidarity	4. Social control to protect individualism
5. Interpersonal trust (break-up of trust and solidarity leads to envidia)	5. Individualism as instrument of total social health
6. Harmony, with nature and people	6. Social interdependence

7. Cooperativeness-Commonalism	7. Adjustment to societal norms
8. Sacrifice	8. Self-determination with social controls to sustain it
9. Sharing	9. Economic system instrument of individual freedom
10. Charity	10. Consumerism
11. Work as necessity and self-expression, not for acquisition	11. Alliances
12. Celebration, *fiesta*, *flor y canto*	12. Recreation as organized and controlled
13. Faith	13. Thrift
14. Childbearing	14. Mastery over nature
15. Rights to property through work of land	
16. Hospitality	

Any relationship between those two systems at this stage in history would render Chicano values powerless. And that is what Chicano people are finding out by relating to the Welfare System or to the American system in general. Yet, some of us place value on the total Chicano system, probably with some reservations about particular values. At the same time, we hear the warnings of critics from the dominant society, saying that Liberalism has spent itself and is not appropriate to the demands of a technological society. Our responsibility is to respond to those cries and share our values and insights in formulating an ideology for a post-industrial society. Welfare is as good an institution to begin with as any. The following recommendations are made accordingly.

The review of the literature reveals that Liberalism had an internal tension between its economic and social responsibility foundations--the non-moral and moral values. The synthesis of that tension is today's ideological underpinning of the Welfare State. And while that complex dynamic that resulted in the Welfare State has not completely eliminated poverty, it has in some ways perpetuated racial injustice and the unequal distribution of resources. In the final analysis, the United States population is in many ways much better off than peoples in other countries with similar ideologies. One cannot be blinded by the seeming success, for this same ideology has been responsible for the development and growth of industrialization and its many negative consequences. We must recognize that our atmosphere has become a dumping ground for industrial waste; our rivers have been overcome by pollution; the resources from which we sustain our lives are all but exhausted unnecessarily.

Exponents of La Raza Cosmica such as the late Mexican philosopher Jose Vasconcelos[34] and Chicano philosopher Padre Luis Jaramillo[35] claim that such was the Anglo's role in the social evolution of the human species. Anglo ideology has fulfilled its role. Its continued existence and application to our times is anachronistic. For the species to survive, something else must emerge--a new people that adheres to values that respect nature and that bring humanity to a collective redemption. This will take the human species to its next dimension in the evolutionary process. And this is the role of La Raza Cosmica, Jaramillo believes. Victor Ferkiss, an eminent political philosopher, affirms the same thing in different terms. Ferkiss asserts the continued application of Liberalism, the "vandal ideology"[36] leads the human species and other forms of life to extinction. He suggests an Ecological Humanism that embodies a respect and harmony for and with nature, humans assuming control over the machine, and collective living.

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[34] Op. cit. Vasconcelos.

[35] Luis Jaramillo, Academia Tape Archives.

Therefore, the ideology of 19th century Liberalism, while perhaps valid for its times, now supports a Welfare State that is spent. We cannot even hope to place its values opposite other values and produce a synthesis of a new and meaningful ideology applicable to our times. Conceivably, welfare ideology could be placed in opposition to Chicano values and result in the creation of a dialectic tension, but his is not possible. Liberalism and its heirs have built-in the values of competition, success, and human's mastery over nature that completely overcome the more humaniarian Chicano values. Liberalism values only victory, causing either the assimilation or extermination of those who adhere to traditional

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[36] Victor Ferkiss, Future of Technological Civilitation, 1969.

Chicano values. In practical terms, many would-be Chicano entrepreneurs, in their attempt to participate in the current economic system have discovered they cannot ride the two horses. Either they totally accept Anglo values and not practice their traditional values, or continue to operate under Chicano values and fail or minimally survive in the entrepreneurial endeavor. The same value system that underpins business, for all practical purposes, supports the Welfare State.

Accordingly, if the above analysis holds, to continue attempting to gain Chicano participation in the current welfare system is to put an end to Chicano values. But many of the inheritors of Liberalism are critically questioning the current state of affairs and the ideological antecedents that have so heavily influenced the course of spaceship earth. Why must Chicanos who are victims of unequal distribution of resources compromise their basic values to receive welfare assistance, especially at a time when Chicano values may be more compatible with the new knowledge? While we may find some Chicano values in conflict with the technological age, we must still find a way to place our emerging ideology in a meaningful relationship with the emerging technological knowledge. Rather than the relationship being a dialectic one, the two bodies of knowledge may be so compatible that most Chicano values outlined above may serve as the moral foundations for a post-industrial society ideology.

The ensuing discussion is a summary of some of the new knowledge we need to consider.

In a cursillo de conciencia, a short course in consciousness-raising, Jaramillo affirms that Newtonian science, the basis for 19th century Liberalism has been replaced by Einstein, and other more recent insights and discoveries. This knowledge must manifest itself in a total world view, and more particularly for this study, in social science and in the world of politics and policy-making. The dualism of mind and body, matter and energy, no longer exist. Life is a process in which these distinctions have disappeared. Matter and energy are the same. The difference between one manifestation of energy in matter and another is merely the arrangement of the atoms and the basic elements which they form in relationship to each other. By the same token, the differences between the human species and the rest of nature has been reduced to one factor--human's awareness of their consciousness and intelligence. And that may be in question too. A stage in the evolutionary process of nature, and possibly an experiment that may have to be discarded, intelligence has been used by the species to its advancement by controlling nature. If it does not assess its role, intelligence may be another bad experiment and discarded, Jaramillo affirms.

The mere fact that the human species and the rest of nature are separated only by the relationship of the building blocks of the universe and human consciousness, dictates a reassessment of human's relationship to nature. In addition hard scientific data gives us another picture that calls that long overdue reassessment.

The Club of Rome, a group of pessimistic industrialists and scientific thinkers, in a book titled Limits to Growth,[37] and Victor Ferkiss in The Future of Technological Civilization[38] among others, tell us that we may have little time left. Exponential growth in both population and production will exhaust the system, as both keep on multiplying by leaps and bounds.

Just the knowledge that we live in an environment of finite resources alone tells us that growth in both production and population must be stopped. This means that production must be fixed, creating all kinds of corrolaries that our present social institutions are not prepared to handle. Human resources heretofore used in production must be put to use in the human services, education, health, etc. That also means that technology, currently applied mostly to production must be applied to human needs. Fixed production will also change the nature of work from a survival instrumental activity to a fulfillment process. Some suggest that communication is the kind of process that is replacing work. In addition, with the change in work patterns, people will have more leisure time, which they must learn to use creatively in harmony with nature and in community. If money continues as the medium of exchange, people will have to receive money for non-work activities.

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[37] Limits to Growth.

[38] Op. cit. Ferkiss.

To buttress these new human activities, Ferkiss calls for an Ecological Humanism based on new relationships between humans, human and technological relationships, and in collective global ethics, in short, a holistic approach to the universe. From Chicano values I suggest the following as compatible with Ecological Humanism: 1) Respeto, 2) Vergüenza, invaluable in collective society where people may have to establish a new level of relationship, 3) Cohesiveness and solidarity, 4) Interpersonal trust, 5) Harmony with each other and with nature, 6) Cooperativeness, 7) Sharing and reciprocity, 8) Charity, 9) Work as a fulfilling endeavor and a necessity, 10) Celebration and fiesta--the arts, 11) Faith, 12) Ad-hoc rights to property based on collective activities. The values of child bearing and temor must be reassessed. While the value of child bearing flows from the notion of sanctity of life and harmony with nature, it is paradoxical with current facts. A resolution may be found where people who have children can learn to share them with those who do not as in the Chicano tradition before rigid adoption regulations came about.

Recognizing that any relationship between the values outlined above with those of the dominant system will render the former impotent, what alternatives are there?

Contemporary society must look critically at the new knowledge of technological society in relationship to what myth tells us--el oro del barrio. From there society must evolve the appropriate educational and communicative process to enhance the sordidly needed humanistic values.

In view of the imminence of a guaranteed income, the social service counter-part of welfare is in limbo. Rather than continue with the abstract and ill-defined concept of services now available, social planners must begin to combine educational and social welfare strategies. As this is occurring, we must also begin to look at that new knowledge and develop the goals of education from that. A reevaluation of such goals in the light of Ecological Humanism may lead us to an educational experience that in fact will create that new man in a new society. Short of this, Western society must then prepare to deal with the new categories of human problems, with a new welfare clientele as we progress towards this new epoch. Frankly, I do not believe the current welfare system with its value underpinnings can handle what is ahead.

Meanwhile those who sense the impending problems could create a new life style-a learning society--where a New Awareness with Respond-ability to all that affects the whole of nature is the intermediate goal. Ultimate Human Fulfillment is the final and utopian end.

AN ORAL HISTORY OF A MEXICAN IMMIGRANT

By

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INTRODUCTION

Mexicans in the United States have been negatively portrayed. A cursory review of the literature reveals that they are blamed for their problems and in the process their history and cultura have been either ignored or distorted. When Octavio Romano outlined these views in the late sixties, they created excitement among Chicano academics. An academic movement had been launched that pitted Anglo-oriented "traditional" academics against Chicano-oriented "radical" academics. Many critiques echoing the same refrain have followed. What was once exciting and new, however, has become old and repetitive. The time is ripe for Chicanos to articulate their place in the world in a manner that will lead"...not only in knowing ourselves but as much or more in freeing ourselves." This type of activity, according to Octavio Paz, "unfolds the possibility of freedom and thus [is] an invitation to action."

If Anglo social scientists have viewed Chicanos from an external perspective, characterizing them as a historical, passive, "sick," un-American, and homogeneous, the initial research task is to take an internal view: A view whose perspective begins by attempting to find meaning in our life as we view it. A good place to begin is with the lives of the oldest people in our communities--those whose lives span three and sometimes four generations. It should be noted

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that in attempting to understand our position in this world today we need to study not only the old, who have lived a good part of their lives, but the youth who have just begun and those caught between the young and old, the mature people who shoulder the major responsibility of keeping society functioning.

This paper presents the story of a 75-year old woman born in an isolated mining village in Baja California, Mexico. This woman represents the generation of Mexicans who left Mexico to build a new life in a strange land. As such, it is an incomplete story as her children and her children's children have differing views of life in the United States in 1976. Nevertheless, before one can begin to understand the totality, one must understand the foundation. The story of Doña Elvira is the story of a generation that lived in two distinct societies. To Ortega y Gasset, "a generation is an integrated manner of existence...a fashion in living, which fixes itself indelibly on the individual." This is a beginning effort in what hopefully will result in a work that will outline the details of a generation that shortly will no longer be. We need to know what it stands for, what it believes, and why it lived its life like it did.

Ernesto Galarza states that there are great gaps in the history of Mexicans in the United States that no one has documented. This is what he terms the "vacant space in history."

The assignment of Chicano scholars, according to Galarza, "is to locate /these/ gaps and go and research right now and to make a continuous narrative from 1900 to 1975...when we tie the story end to end we will be able to know what happened, then he is ready to analyze."

Our "method" was to tape conversations with Mexican immigrants that had lived and had recollections of life in Mexico. The immigrants raised their families in the United States and now have grandchildren and in some cases great-grandchildren. These people generally do not speak English and although they are extremely articulate, their voice has not been heard. They constitute the foundation of much of the Chicano population. It is from them that we fill the gaps in Chicano history, compare the changing family patterns, identify the value clashes with the younger generation, and, most importantly, get an internal view of the Chicano. Their unique position in history needs to be captured, for we have much to learn from them. Our conversations with the elderly attempt to follow the process of their lives, and through the analysis, develop a portrait of their collective personality. Our approach obviously is not elitist nor can it be classified as historical in the classic sense.

Some of the people we conversed with were illiterate. They could neither read nor write and most spoke only Spanish. It is possible that, because of this, Anglo historians and social scientists have neglected the history of Mexicans in the United States. Because they cannot communicate with the Mexican people, they have been forced to interpret the Mexican world from an external perspective.

I recognize that the memory of some of the immigrants may be inaccurate. My major interest at this time, however, is understanding the manner in which people ascribe meaning to the events. It is the subjectivity of the Mexican immigrants that is of greatest importance--his values, attitudes, opinions, motives, and overall world view. The initial intent is to get to know these people, rather than the events they reconstruct.

In presenting this case study, I have attempted to describe the recollections of Doña Elvira's life as she views it. I have refrained from interpreting her notions about life, the schools, child rearing, changes in her family, and American society. It should be pointed out, however, that inevitably there are changes in meaning by the reorganization and translation of the material. This is the first of several stories about Mexican immigrants that will be presented essentially as told to us. Each is a unique history that in their composite articulate the genius of the Chicano culture.

Life in Mexico

From the time of her birth until the death of her husband, Doña Elvira was inextricably tied to the mines. All her family made a living from the mines and following excavations was their way of life. Fruit trees and cattle ranches surrounded the small, picturesque town where she was born. Her six older brothers only went to the third grade because her parents felt they should work. "I remember my father waking them up at 4 in the morning so they could go work with him. My father was a machinist, a cachero, and my brothers worked on the planillas where the metal was melted. They would fill leather bags with metal, throw them over their shoulders, and carry them to the mills---they were paid ten cents for each sack they brought. Sometimes my youngest brother would go to sleep by the side of the road in the brush. When he got home, he would get a good spanking." Elvira completed four of the five school years available in her hometown. The school authorities wanted her to become a teacher. "I repeated the second grade twice so as not to get out of school so young. Then, when we moved to Triunfo, I spent a year, not a complete year, in fifth grade. And that was all the schooling I had. Later, I entered a sewing school. The people in the town lived very well. There were English and French companies in the different mines. But then the mines faded out."

As a child Elvira "was very mischievous (muy loca)...Once there was a school celebration and we were going to be butterflies. My mother got everything ready, but since she didn't have money to by the material for my costume, she gave me four chickens to sell; I went out with my two brothers to sell the chickens. The next morning as I put my shoes on, something pinched my foot. I thought, "Dear, if I tell my father about the nail in my shoe he'll take too long to fix it. I'd better not say anything." Well the more I walked, the more the nail hurt and when I took my shoes off that afternoon, there was a huge dead scorpion in my shoe. I would climb the walls around the houses and swing on the tree branches. Once I jumped on the wall and a brick fell and shattered my hand. It took two days to get me to the doctor. I was home all night with such pain that I thought I would die. The next day my two brothers took me on horseback from San Antonio to Triunfo to the doctor. I was crying as I was little and in great pain. My brothers got me a room in a house with six girls whom they knew---they must have liked them. My brothers returned to the village but they left me because the doctor had to keep treating me. Then a young man, a good friend of my brothers', who had known me since I was little, arrived to visit his girlfriend. He was saddened because I was ill. The time passed and I was ready to leave; I was very sad because my hand was badly deformed. One day I was crying and the young man came and said, "What's wrong with la Chatita (pug nose)?' 'Well, she's very unhappy, poor thing; she crushed her hand.' 'Don't be unhappy, pretty one. When you become a lady, I'm going to marry you.' What importance could I lay to that? I was only seven years old."

The revolution spread throughout Mexico. In Baja California, General Ortega took up arms and recruited men from La Paz to Cabo San Lucas. "My older brother, Pedro, followed General Ortega to the revolution. When my 16-year old brother followed Pedro, Pedro sent him back home. Upon arriving the police took him to jail and then on to Mexico City as a soldier to fight. Later he entered the United States at El Paso where he learned English and ranch work." It was to be ten years before his parents were to see him again.

The climate in Baja California was not good for Elvira's frail body because she had contracted typhoid fever at the age of thirteen. At age sixteen she moved with her older married brother to Cananea, a mining town in the rugged mountains of Sonora close to the United States border. "We spent a day in Guaymas so that the maritime officials could inspect the boat and then we took the train to Nogales. Nogales seemed so pretty.

It had been nearly fifteen years since she had hurt her hand but when she got to Cananea the young man went to visit her. "There was visit after visit and then he said he would keep his promise. We became 'steadies.' And two years later, we were married."

She went to Cananea with her brother and her parents went to Mexicali as renganchados, contract workers. "In Baja California a captain or a chief would transport people and provide them with jobs. He would direct the job operation and speak for people interested in work. The family made the trip in 11 days on the little boat from Santa Rosalia to San Felipe. In San Felipe a truck driver told them to carry their clothes but did not permit them to take their foot-lockers with all their valuables--and afterwards the truckers took their belongings and sold them in Mexicali. The families were taken to a field which was named *Cuervos*; there they built their houses. It was raw land."

"I did not see or get to know those places because I stayed in Cananea. But my family would write letters and tell me about their sufferings. They stayed in Mexicali and I stayed in Cananea with my brother and I went to visit them when I could."

North From Mexico

The young couple and their infant son emigrated to the United States primarily because of the influence of her husband's mother. "She was always telling my husband to take his family and settle in the United States. His mother wanted him to quit mining. You know how people get after they've mined for many years; they get sick. She wrote to her sister in Los Angeles expressing her wish that her son settle in California. The aunt invited him."

"I had heard people speak of the U.S. but it was distant communication. It seemed that I was never going to see it. I had heard that the United States was a very pretty, very rich country and that the comforts were many and the jobs were good and that they paid very good money. I also heard that the people spoke nothing but English, and when I entered the United States I found out that no one spoke Spanish. When I entered I had braids down to my waist, and the people here were wearing their hair and dresses short. The places were not as elegant as they look today."

Los Angeles was their first destination. "We filled out the emigration application and, on the ninth of April, 1922, they gave us our papers and we went directly to a ranch in Los Angeles where my husband's aunt was. The ranch was owned by rich landholders. The border crossing was not difficult because we had our birth certificates and our marriage license. They didn't require pictures. Just the documents, our identification, and papers from my husband's job were required. He was on contract. We paid eight dollars to get across--nothing for the emigration itself."

Doña Elvira's husband had entered the United States through Bisbee several years earlier. At that time, he had refused to become a United States citizen. "When the rest of us emigrated he anticipated some difficulties because he had refused to become a citizen of the United States. The older children were born in Mexico because he didn't want them to be American citizens."

They encountered many problems in Los Angeles. Not knowing the language was a persistent problem during the early years in the United States. "The first weeks we went out with his aunt and uncle; later my husband wanted the two of us to go out alone. We would walk about a mile from the ranch and take the little electric car to the edge of the beach. We walked along the sidewalk looking in every direction and we would go into a restaurant when we got hungry. The only thing my husband knew how to order was fish. That was our meal---a plate with plenty of fish, potatoes, and tomatoes - and water because we couldn't even ask for coffee or tea. One time on the fourth of July, we went by a restaurant that sold tamales but we didn't buy them because we didn't know how to ask for them in English. We didn't know they had the same name in English. We ate fish. After a year we were a little more knowledgeable and we knew how to ask for coffee and different food. We would return to the ranch, very happy because we'd gone out; Long Beach seemed so pretty to us. That was the extent of our outings."

They stayed in Los Angeles only one year and four months. Elvira's husband did not like agricultural work "...because the men were expected to work from dawn to dusk. As a miner he worked eight hours and no more."

He went to Jerome, Arizona, and Elvira, who was going to have another child, went to his mother's house in Cananea. It did not take long for him to find a job in Jerome. The espera, the waiting time until they were hired, was less than one week. "They gave preference to the timbreros, workers who erected railings to hold the frames, who came from Cananea because they were reputed to be good workers. Some American supervisors in Jerome had worked in Cananea and knew my husband, where he started as a timbrero and worked up to supervisor; he was supervisor for 11 years. In Jerome, he couldn't get a job as a supervisor because he didn't know English."

After giving birth to her second child in Cananea, Elvira, her mother-in-law, and Elvira's two small children headed toward Jerome. The immigration officials, however, did not let her mother-in-law cross. "I went alone by train from Nogales to Jerome without knowing anything. When I got to the bus depot, an attendant asked me if I wanted a room; I didn't know what he'd asked but I said yes. A car took us to a hotel close to the depot. We got to the room, room #18, I'll never forget it. I knew that the train left for Jerome at 7 a.m. but I didn't know how I was going to get to the depot. I got up at 5 a.m., got ready and went out into the hall. I was standing there looking around and wondering what to do when a lady stopped in front of another room and said, 'Good morning.' I said, 'Buenos dias.' Once I said buenos dias she said, 'How are you ma'am?' in Spanish. Oh, God must have been watching over me.

I got on the train and the American lady told the train conductor that I was alone and that they must take care of me until I got off the train. The train was going to stop in Scottsdale. My husband had told me to take the electric car that went to Jerome from there because he was not going to be able to pick me up on time."

Life in Jerome

Her husband had rented a house in Jerome. There were "some huge pans, a tub full of very large pots, and enough dishes for a very large family and I only had two children... everything was there. The family that owned the house had a little store so that, on that count, I was fine because they were Mexican---I could make myself understood and their girls could help me with the children."

Shortly thereafter, they moved to a house owned by the mines. It was a small, two bedroom, unfurnished house with a kitchen and dining room. "We bought some furniture and my husband made some wood benches and a hutch for the dishes from an egg crate. We earned very little. After three years, a bigger company house became available. We paid $10 rent per month for that house, including water and electricity."

As in Los Angeles, they experienced many difficulties adjusting to the new environment. Again, the most apparent difficulty was language. "There were many problems because we could not make ourselves understood. People refused to speak Spanish and many Mexicans who knew English didn't want to speak Spanish at all; they were afraid of being scorned. They would never say that they were Mexican; they would say that they were French Canadians. Not until recently have we seen people who are not ashamed of saying that they are Mexican."

In those days school officials did not allow children to speak Spanish at school. "Those who spoke Spanish were punished. My second child would rush out of the classroom at the break and urinate on the school patio because he didn't know how to ask to be excused." After a time Doña Elvira learned the alphabet and the numbering system in English, thus making it easier for the younger children to adjust.

Doña Elvira describes life for Mexicans in Jerome as difficult. In the mid-thirties Jerome was a vibrant, rich mining town with over 5,000 residents. The mines were worked rigorously. "Where could one go if one didn't know English? One had to buy groceries from the small grocery store where they spoke Spanish, because if you went to a regular store, nobody spoke Spanish. We would buy at a store owned by an Italian because they spoke some Spanish."

There were people from different parts of Mexico. Although both languages were spoken, Spanish was the dominant, if not the official language because there were more Mexican than American people. "The American people generally didn't go out;

Mexican men went to pool halls and bars. There was only one store and a tortilla factory owned by a Mexican; that is where the Mexican people gathered. And there were many deaths. People with troubles in Mexico would sometimes be followed and killed in Jerome. The two policemen in town were very hard on Mexicans who misbehaved. They were mistreated and sent to the small jail. God help the Mexican who misbehaved. The American people didn't like Mexicans. An American policeman, well liked by the Mexican people, was found dead; thousands of dollars were put up in an effort to find the killer but it remained a secret."

There were three schools in Jerome---a high school and two elementary schools. The educational principles were simple. At the start of the year, "the teacher would draw an object such as a chair on the blackboard and call out its name in English. The children were not allowed to speak Spanish so they would leave school with a real desire to speak Spanish. They had to learn English. In those days there was no PTA. Occasionally, the teachers would invite the mothers to visit the children during class. But how could I go if I didn't know English? It was embarrassing to go to the school not knowing English. One Mother's Day I attended a school program at my eldest son's request after he assured me that they would receive us well. As people arrived they would take their arm, seat them, and speak to them in English. People that did not speak English just nodded. A carnation was placed on every child. If the mother was dead, they gave him a white carnation; if she was alive, they gave him a red carnation. One would sit and listen to the English spoken. Ididn't know what the children were saying; just sounds. I watched my son read a paper and felt proud."

Language was not the only problem. There were different foods and eating habits to become acquainted with. "We would buy coffee by the kilo and I would roast and grind it in a coffee grinder. My husband never did like canned foods although they were very cheap. As was the custom in Mexico, everything had to be cooked. We didn't like anything canned. The only things that were the same as they were in Mexico were corn and beans."

The customs of the people in the United States also were different. "One Thanksgiving day an American neighbor brought me a plate of turkey, with all the trimmings. She told me, 'I didn't bring you more because I had no more left over.' I didn't say anything because I understood that she had not done it to offend me; she didn't know what the word "leftover" meant to us. But my Comadre became angry and refused the plate. She told her, 'I am not a dog to eat leftovers.' I explained to my Comadre that the neighbor didn't know what she had said. Among us, 'take this because it's left over' is very offensive. We make such a fuss over a plate of food for a neighbor---we take it when we make the food, not after we eat, and American's are accustomed to taking what is left after the meal. My neighbor would also insult us without knowing it. I made her understand a great deal about many words. She learned Spanish and I learned English from her."

Americans also had a different sense of community: "They would throw a party and not invite us, perhaps because we were Mexican. They would have a party thinking all was well and there were no hard feelings. But among us, there were hurt feelings. If we invite one, we invite everyone. We can't tell people, 'I didn't invite you because I didn't make enough food' because it will offend them."

Christmas customs also differed from those in the United States. "In Mexico we would hang our stockings on the night of the 24th.; here they celebrate Christmas for a longer period. In Mexico people had parties and gift exchanges on January 6th.; here it is on Christmas."

Dances also differed. "We would go to the dances only by invitation and our parents would determine whether or not we could go to that dance. And they would take us. The girls would sit on chairs around the dance hall. Every girl had flowers. The girl who had a boyfriend would place her bouquet of flowers down low. Atravezado meant that the girl already had a boyfriend. If a girl was angry with her boyfriend, she would hold her flowers low to offend him. The young man without a girlfriend would note where a girl held her bouquet before asking her to dance. In Mexico, the boy would seat the girl and thank her after a dance. The girls could not sit with the boys because the mothers were watching. While dancing, the girls would watch her boyfriend while he talked so the mother would not take note. In the United States the girls would stand on one end of the hall and the boys would stand on the other. Sometimes the boys couldn't muster the courage to ask the girls to dance. After dancing the couples would just stand around. It was not customary to take the girl to her chair. It was very different, very strange."

In those days the $4.25 her husband made per day went a long way. "It was a lot of money. A dozen eggs cost 10 cents; ten pounds of potatoes were 10 cents, a loaf of bread was 5 cents, a postal stamp 2 cents, and a crate of apples cost one peso (dollar). I would buy a crate of apples to make jam and turnovers for the children. I would grind _nixtamal_ and make _tortillas_. I would toast the corn and we would grind it and make pinole...it was very cheap. A sack of corn was three pesos (dollars). With one sack of corn I could make a lot of tortillas and _posole_. Today 10 pounds of potatoes cost 89 cents, 98 cents---the price changes daily."

Back to Mexico

They stayed in Jerome until 1931 when her husband decided to return to Mexico to try his hand in agriculture---a more "moderate" type of work. Under the Cárdenas administration land was parcelled out to induce settlement and development of land as well as to encourage the return of the numerous immigrants who had gone to the United States. Again they crossed through Nogales, then to Santa Ana, Sonora, and finally to San Luis, Sonora, where they had their land waiting for them. By that time, they had five children. "We stayed in Santa Ana for a week, but my husband didn't like it because it was very deserted. In that year, they had thrown the Chinese out of Mexico and there were no stores in the towns. I wanted to stay to establish a store but my husband didn't want to stay because he was interested in agriculture---my brother, who had an agricultural position in San Luis, got him very excited. We left Sant Ana and crossed the desert in a large truck. My husband rode in the back with the children and I was in the front with the driver and the baby. There was a place where the road was so narrow that the chollas came down and fell inside the truck on my children, on everyone; there was a lot of yelling and we were frightened. My husband made the driver quickly stop the truck and we got out---he was very angry at the driver. We finished removing the chollas from the children, gave them something to calm them down, and continued to San Luis. When we got to San Luis, my youngest son was very sick because the hose we drank water from had also been used for gasoline. My husband went to look for a doctor and to look for someone who could take us to the village of Independencia where we were to receive the land. In two days the baby was well."

The villages of Sonora were very poor and lacked even the most basic facilities. "We were assured it was a two hour drive; we left at ten in the morning and arrived at one o'clock the next morning because the truck kept getting flat after flat. They didn't have food or anything and it was necessary to travel for four days to buy food. When we arrived at one o'clock in the morning, my sister-in-law set about killing a chicken to make soup. My husband, who had stayed on the road with the truck, finally arrived at three in the morning. The land was very picturesque, rich, and fertile, but difficult to work because the villages were newly established and the very poor people did not have enough to plant. There were only a few plows so the people had to take turns using them. They didn't have enough of anything; there was no store. My brother was doing very well; the bank helped him with food, which he would divide among those who helped him pick the cotton. My husband was given some land near the village where he built a house from cachanilla bush with dirt and mud, like adobe. The house had neither doors nor windows. It was a novelty to us. The land had to be leveled with tractors. The cachanilla bush surrounded the house so we could not see anything. God knows who the neighbors were. After we moved in, my husband and the older boys started to help my brother pick cotton. We bought chickens, a cow, and work horses (bestias). In the evenings there were so many mosquitos that I had to use nets to cover the cildren. In the mornings we would see huge frogs and snakes coming in and out under the foot-lockers. The stove was outside and it was difficult to find a way out. I would kindle the wood stove and sometimes I would find huge scorpions under it, but they never bothered me."

In Sonora, all the big stores and all the business were run by the Chinese. "In Cananea, where it snows , they would deliver the milk on horseback. And there were Chinese who sold bread, candies, ice cream, milk, little ribbons, little boxed mirrors and all that. The Chinese sold everything. There were many Chinese married to Mexican girls. They would marry the prettiest girls around---they had money. It was the businesses they had. When my family got to Mexicali, a Chinese man was trying to marry my younger sister. He wanted to give my father land and some money so my father could set up a store. My sister didn't want to go along with him and neither did my father. They ran him off. You know that in the past they would run off boyfriends."

The Chinese were forced out of Sonora in 1931. "They took their Mexican wives to China and shortly thereafter the Mexican girls asked the president of Mexico to bring them back because the Mexican girls weren't liked and the Chinese were overworking them. They would make them harvest the rice in the water and they couldn't do it. They all came back. They held them on the Virgin Islands until their quarantine was over."

Doña Elvira and her family stayed in Independencia, Sonora only three months. "My husband could not stand it any more because it was very hot and we had many children. There was no hope of schools, there were no doctors, there were no stores, there was nothing. To buy merchandise one had to go to Mexicali, a four-day trip, and if the river rose, one could not get across."

Jerome Revisited

The family had saved two thousand dollars in preparation for their journey to the south. "He wanted to be a farmer, but he'd been a miner since childhood. He had always been dedicated to working in the mines and although he didn't like agriculture he had made the effort." After three months her husband decided to return to work in the mines of Jerome. She went to Mexicali with her mother; there the two older children went to school for eight months---one school term.

The second immigration in 1933 was considerably more complicated than the first. This time she not only had to pay $16.00 for each child, but she had to reapply because living in those distant colonies had prevented her from getting her emigration papers checked. This process had to be repeated at least once every six months. Her husband had had his emigration papers checked regularly; he did not lose them.

Doña Elvira had trouble emigrating because she had to make arrangements for all of her children. "They asked me for a variety of papers at the American consul's office in Mexicali. My husband sent me letters from the mine, from the police and from the town of Mexicali to prove that we had had no run-ins with the law. I started to get my emigration papers on September and on January third, I went to the American emigration office with all the papers ready. They just signed them."

Once again they returned to Jerome. "I had given my neighbors my kitchen utensils, tableware, chairs, when we'd left...they returned everything, including the bolillo to make tortillas. I had given everything away because we had thought we would stay in Sonora. What I had given them proved very useful upon my return."

The Daisy mine in Jerome provided benefits to the workers, including hospitalization. "I never paid doctor bills except for the children's births---sixty dollars---now it's $500 or more...we paid for a private doctor to deliver the babies; the company did not pay for it. In those times people had their babies at home. A person would go to the hospital only if she was in danger of dying; I had all my children at home. I never had a midwife, just doctors. The workers had security through the mine. When the mine closed down in '38 the company gave the workers money; my husband received 280 pesos (dollars). They gave the workers ten dollars for every year they had worked."

Another Mining Town

Her husband went to Superior, a mining town not far from Phoenix, Arizona, to look for work. He found work the next day. "I wanted to stay in Mexicali so the oldest one could finish school but my husband said that there were very good schools in Superior and that the boy could continue there. Within a month, my husband went for us."

The move to Superior created problems, particularly for the youngest child. "In November of 1938, we took the children to school and the youngest one, who was in second grade, was returned to first grade because he did not speak English. He became resentful because they made fun of him. He disliked school and it wasn't until he went in the Army that he found out how much he needed an education."

Doña Elvira did not take part in the many social activities available in Superior. "When we got to Superior my husband joined the mining club so the children could take part in some of the activities. I did not have the time; I had too many children and the housework was quite heavy. I washed by hand and made the food. I would grind nixtamal, make tortillas, roast and grind the coffee, iron and sew the clothes for the children because we couldn't buy them. At that time people had to iron; now clothing doesn't need ironing. I would send items I'd made by hand to the *jamaicas*, church celebrations, to help out the church. There were many women's clubs, too. There was the church club, the recreation club, the Optimists club. There are many things to do in a club. Members are asked to do this, that and the other and you have to go to the meetings. I couldn't do all that, so I didn't belong to clubs. I had many children and too much work and I would have to give up something. I either neglected my home or devoted my time to the clubs."

In Superior the Mexican miners set up a food cooperative. There were 25 miners and each contributed $50. They bought, rented, and sold merchandise. "They were selling merchandise to themselves but at the same price they had bought it. How were they going to make money if they didn't raise the price of the food? There were many disagreements because there were two or three in the cooperative who wanted everything that was sold and bought to be recorded. My husband was one of those who made that proposition because he liked everything to be legal, but others didn't want it that way. They sold hazardly and, before they knew it, they went broke. Everybody lost his $50; they said that there was no money left over. Somebody came out ahead ..the more 'intelligent' ones. There were about three very intelligent ones there."

The Family

The family bought a house for $450, land and all, because they wanted to avoid paying rent, "so that life would be a little easier." They paid cash and had to work hard to fix up the house. It was there that the two older children got a total education. "It was hard for my husband to come home from the mine and set his mind to the work that needed to be done around the house. He taught the two older boys carpentry, to put in cement sidewalks, to put half-soles on shoes, to cut hair. He taught them all that. They plastered the walls, lined the house on the inside, added cardboard and installed the water spout inside the house. We kept fixing the house. The house still looks the way it did when my sons plastered it and built the sidewalks with their father.

Doña Elvira's husband would buy the oldest boy old jalopies that wouldn't run "...but he was determined to fix them. We left five of our son's cars in the barrio when we moved. His pride was to make the cars run for half an hour. He was fourteen years old but always full of ambition."

Doña Elvira's children's weddings provided insights into the changing times. "The first one to marry married a young girl who had lost both father and mother. At that time I had many chickens, a chicken brood, and the eldest boy and I killed 25 chickens. I cooked them and after having worked all day cleaning the yard, the eldest said, 'Tell me when the next one gets married so I can leave the house because I don't want to clean the yard again.' I told his father, not thinking that he would scold the boy for having said that. His father called him in and explained to him that one day he too would get married and he would want his brothers to clean the yard for him. The wedding took place at church. We had cake and chocolate, followed by dinner at my home. We served chicken, salad, dry rice and spaghetti. Everybody liked everything. There were Mexicans and some of my son's friends at that wedding. There was no dancing because the girl was an orphan and didn't want a party."

The first time someone asked for Doña Elvira's daughter's hand in marriage, the father refused to grant it. The daughter's boyfriend sent a self-assured man to speak to the father on his behalf. "My husband asked the man, 'Are you married, sir?' 'Yes sir, I'm married. I have a daughter, a son and a pair of twins, little twins.' 'Oh, you have a daughter?' 'Yes sir, I have a daughter.' 'And when your daughter is going to get married,' he said, 'and someone comes to ask for her hand in marriage will you give her to someone whom you don't know?' 'Oh no, sir,' he said. 'Well, I'm doing the same thing,' he said. 'I am not going to give you an answer regarding the man who seeks my daughter's hand because I don't know you, nor who you are.' The man stood up, said 'Excuse me' and left. He went and told the boyfriend, 'Elope with her; take her away so you won't have to ask for her hand in marriage.' Her father just dismissed me'. The following Sunday, the priest came to ask for the daughter's hand. My husband accepted because he knew the priest, and everything for the wedding was prepared. My husband didn't want a toast with liquor because he didn't want our daughter to get married. The wedding was at my house and we toasted with chocolate. I didn't say anything for fear of causing another problem; instead, I went along with it. The younger ones helped but the older one no longer wanted to help. He married within a year after my daughter but his wedding was at the bride's house, not at my house. They left on their honeymoon immediately after the dinner and did not have a dance because it really wasn't the custom. They would drink their chocolate, go have their pictures taken, and then the food was ready to eat. There was chocolate served at all weddings. I still feel rather strange when chocolate is not served at a wedding. When I got married, we first had chocolate with cake and it was a big thing. They made some very good chocolate from Mexico."

The groom's parents traditionally asked for the bride's hand in marriage. "The guardians of my son's bride immediately agreed when we went to ask for her hand. When the eldest got married, my husband and our son went alone because it was known that the girl's mother didn't accept people. The mother, who was well respected among her daughters, did not accept visitors and so my son and the girl always got together secretly. I stayed home awaiting the verdict. The lady received my husband and son very well. The lady, a widow, took very good care of her daughters and I imagine that's why there was gossip and rumors that people had believed. I went to meet the lady after she gave her consent. I hardly knew the bride. I had only seen the bride from afar."

The custom in Mexico was to ask for the bride's hand and promise something to the other family in return. "I had nothing to do with dowries or anything like that. We would discuss what the son was like, what job he held, how poor he was, and whether or not they would accept him. We would always discuss the son and his temperament."

"During the time that one of my sons was in the service, he had a friend go to his girlfriend's house to ask for her hand---she was an American girl. Her mother came to my house to tell me that she was in agreement and asked whether it was agreeable to me that her daughter marry my son. Her parents came to ask for him. I told the lady that I would agree to it if they loved each other; I would not interfere with their love. They were married in the Presbyterian church, not in the Catholic church."

The customs changed a great deal between the time of the first and last marriage in the family. "When my youngest son got married there were mariachis and a photographer inside the church. In the past they didn't even permit pictures to be taken inside the church. My first son wanted pictures of the wedding and the priest said no."

In those days it was very difficult for a family to send their children to school. "We sacrificed 50¢ per pay period from my husband's salary. That was all that was available to educate our sons. My husband was very fond of education; he longed for his sons to be educated. He was very strict about their studying everyday. They had to sit at the table, each one doing his work, and he wouldn't let them out until they had studied. Between the two of us, we sacrificed to save what we could so our son could go to school. There was no help of any sort; in no way was there help."

"La Opinion," a Spanish language newspaper, was the family's link to the homeland and to the aftermath of the revolution. "I was always informing myself about the Mexican presidents and we had many discussions about the presidents who didn't turn out to be good ones. We knew when Calles threw the Chinese out of Sonora and when he removed the priests from the churches during the persecution. It seemed unjust to all of us. It seemed like a sacrilege that a president could have forced the priests to leave the Church and allow churches to be used as barracks; we are servants of the church. Through the paper, we found out when Calles expelled the priests and expatriated the Chinese from Sonora---not one was left."

In 1938, rumors of war against the Nazis were starting up. "The war in Europe started in '39 and when the United States entered the war in '40 my eldest son enlisted in the service voluntarily. He had just completed his first year of college in mining engineering. He was in training as a radio technician in aviation for three months before they shipped him to England. He opened the doors to release the bombs. He was shot down after five missions over Germany." He was kept prisoner for 21 months until the summer of 1945. "He returned home very thin, very frail. He'd stiffen up at the slam of a door and light one cigarette after another; he was very nervous! He stayed with me for a month until he got married to the girl he had been engaged to when he left. They got married and went to California where he went to work with a company like the one he has now."

What meaning did the war have to a mother whose son went to war? "What I thought about most was the loss of life and that I had a son there. We would pray a lot and would ask that peace be made. I felt the war should not have been. But it was only a thought. It was not that I told my thoughts to anyone, just that it seemed so hard that I had a son there whom I could lose. But God did not want that. My son returned well; very thin, but he returned. And to this day he's very well. I felt that if I'd stayed in Mexico, this would not have happened to me. I would not have had that problem that I had within me; I felt it was one's duty to defend his country but since we were not in our country, I thought the duty was not as great. It was but the thought of a mother."

People were very happy that the war had ended and there were many parties and victory celebrations. "Many religious promises were fufilled and we were constantly in church worshipping God because He had granted us peace. I always had faith that my son was going to live and never thought that they were going to kill him. When my son's plane was shot down, the crew was forced to jump and if one of those metal pieces that was flying past them after the plane exploded had severed the parachute cord, they would not have lived. The men were destined to live. For us it was a miracle. It may or not be in the opinion of other persons but, in our opinion, it was a miracle. People made different pilgrimage promises; many promised to go to the basilica of Guadalupe in Mexico and others promised to go see San Francisco in Magdalena. I didn't; I only made promises that I could fulfill here at church. I didn't promise to go out or any of that---just prayers and novenas."

Peace and prosperity followed World War II. "Good-paying jobs opened up everywhere here in the United States. Salaries for everyone went up. There were sales on everything---car sales, furniture sales, sales on everything because during the war there had been shortages of everything. People were not permitted to store very many products so that everyone would be assured of having what they needed for as long as the war lasted. We used stamps to buy sugar and shoes because of the shortages."

Death in the Family

Doña Elvira's husband worked in the mines of Superior, Arizona for twelve years until he became ill. He died shortly thereafter. She was left with three sons at home. One went to the service; the other two stayed home. The mines paid her $1,700 after her husband's death. "The boss at the mine asked me if I wanted all the money at once, and I told him that I wanted it on a monthly basis, so that it would last longer while the kids grew up. They sent me a $50 check until the $1,700 was exhausted; then they sent me a letter telling me that they had sent me all the money. I continued with my husband's social security. I didn't know that my son could go to college through social security. Right now, it's heavenly because everybody receives help. I never recieved any help, no help so they could go to college like there is today. If only there had been some help!"

The link to the mines, in spite of some resistance to the contrary, continued through one of her sons. "While his father was alive, my son worked outside in the mining yard because his father didn't want him to work in the mine; he wanted him to go to school so he could learn a trade. About three or four months after his father died, he went from the yard into the mine. It was six months before I knew that he had gone into the mine; he didn't want to tell me. He has worked for the mines since then. He married, had a family and did not go to school. It's been six years since he was made a supervisor and he stopped working those tiring jobs."

After the death of the father, the family readjusted to keep itself functioning. While the two youngest boys were in high school, one of the older ones would come home for the weekends. "I would wash and iron his clothes so he would have them ready for the week of work. After Pablo, my other son, returned from the service the two of them would come. When Francisco, one of the younger ones, did something wrong I would explain to all his brothers what he had done. The older ones would then advise him in earnest. The boys were afraid of the eldest because he scolded a lot and had them flying straight. If they did something I would warn them that I was going to call their brother . They even did the mopping for me so I wouldn't call him."

"I remember one day I wanted to surprise Francisco on his birthday so I went to the chicken coop and killed a chicken and prepared it with all the trimmings. I set the table and put a cake in the middle surrounded by the serving platters. When my other son arrived from work I asked him to wait for Francisco. Well, Francisco didn't arrive. The eldest had lent him the car and he and some of his friends from school had gone all the way to Phoenix. They didn't get back to Superior until 8 o'clock at night. Francisco arrived very sad, very tired and asked me for dinner. I told him to go ahead and eat whatever he'd like, that the dinner was in the refrigerator. And very sadly, he said, 'Don't feel badly Mamá, you know I don't know why I left; I was just happy that it was my birthday."

"The next morning he asked me to sign a letter indicating that I had given him permission to go to Phoenix. I told him that I was sorry, but that I was not going to tell a lie, that he could tell the teacher whatever he wanted. He left and I think he wrote the letter and gave it to the teacher. He was very good at forging signatures. The eldest punished him; he didn't lend him the car for a long time."

Doña Elvira worked hard to keep her sons in school. "Francisco always had a girlfriend and would use the excuse of wanting to visit her. I'd say, 'Okay, but your work first.' He was always ready to get up in the morning, but not the youngest one; I had a lot of trouble getting him up. As a youngster he wanted to be a doctor and one day I was so upset with him that I said, 'Poor women who are going to deliver their babies themselves because the doctor is not going to arrive on time.' He got up and was ready to go to school immediately."

Because they grew up without a father, the younger boys were "useless" with their hands, but not with their minds. "They didn't learn to work with their hands like the older ones. They would bring the bundles of wood, chop it and prepare it for using in cooking---we would not buy wood. I had a lot of chickens and they would help me fix and clean the chicken coops and give the chickens water. I would sell chickens and eggs to help us out. In spite of the fact that those two were raised without a father, they were able to study and have a trade during their life."

Not having a father, however, did create problems: "...sometimes they wanted things I could not get them. Francisco wanted to play an instrument and I could not buy it. He wanted to play the clarinet; since I didn't have any money, one of my older sons bought him the clarinet. He ordered it and paid for it. It's sad not being able to provide these things for your children. It was a problem. The boys had strict orders to be back early when they went out at night. Francisco was very mischievous and he liked to go out; he liked to dance; he liked music; he liked sports; he liked everything. He was always ready to go somewhere."

It was difficult for the youngest one to get through the university: "We saved whatever we could so he could go, and he worked. He worked at Jack-in-the-Box; he worked at the TB hospital; he worked at the mental hospital---he worked everyplace. He worked all the time. And they liked school too; it was very helpful to me that they liked school because it would have been very hard to order or compel them to study if they had not liked it. They had talent."

She contrasts the days when her children were going to the university with today: "I could have gotten a part of the youngest's education paid through my husband's social security but I didn't know and we didn't apply. And they never asked us. When my son turned 18 years and already in college they sent him his last social security check. They didn't ask and I didn't know. Not until years later did I find out that I could have gotten college through social security; I would not have struggled as much; it would have been much easier."

Doña Elvira feels there are more opportunities today than in the past. "Today the colleges help you but at that time, they didn't help with anything, not even a book; you had to buy everything. That's why there were so few Mexican students. Can you imagine that my son was the only Mexican student from Superior at the University of Arizona during the war, only Americans went. He was the only Mexican who went because the people didn't have money. The jobs in the mines paid very low salaries; they paid $4.75 and rose to $5.25 during the war. The only ones who made good money were the ones who worked on bonus; my husband never worked on bonus. The schools now are very well equipped to help out the poor. Before, the poor stayed behind because they didn't have any money. It was a very big sacrifice to be able to save 100 dollars to send one's son to college."

"I devoted my time to sewing while my son was at the university. I invited my friends and gave Stanley parties to get prizes, clocks and irons, toasters and dishes. I had very good parties. I went to Stanley parties and baby showers and bridal showers. I didn't go to dances; all that had already passed. I had already forgotten how to dance."

Postscript

Doña Elvira became a citizen after the death of her husband. "I became a citizen to vote for President Kennedy and after that I didn't want to vote anymore because of such bad luck; poor man, he didn't last. But I always vote because I have my citizenship and it is a right."

"I don't know why I wanted to vote for Kennedy; perhaps because I heard so many speak about him and explain everything about him. Several ladies and I wanted to become citizens in order to vote for President Kennedy. It was because he was a Democratic President and we would have the possibility of more help; that's what the propaganda said. It was massive propaganda. I always vote. I have not stopped voting since I became a citizen because it is a right of the citizen to cast his vote on one side or the other."

Doña Elvira neither participates in political groups nor in social groups. She, however, has continued her dedication to the education of her children. When her youngest child graduated from high school she moved from Superior to a home near the University of Arizona in Tucson so her youngest son could attend school. She has remained in that home so that her grandchildren can better afford to attend the university. "I am just an elderly housewife and I am not prepared to go around in political groups; perhaps my age does not harmonize with these times and it is better; I have not been accustomed to participating in social groups. I'm going to tell you the truth. I have been only a housewife and that's how I have continued to live."

Discussion

This oral history is the beginning effort in documenting the journey to the north of one hundred Mexican immigrants that have been interviewed over the last two years. These immigrants came from different areas of Mexico over the last 50 years and settled in different parts of the United States, primarily in the Southwest, and have had varying degrees of success in adjusting to the environment of the United States.

In this study we will examine the events that led to the translocation, the experiences of the journey, the experiences of settling in a new area and perhaps most importantly their value system.

The values identified in the paper by Tomas Atencio entitled, "A Comparison of the Ideological Foundations of Social

Welfare and Chicano Values," are evident in Doña Elvira's account of her life. These values include respeto, vergüenza, temor a Dios y mayores, family cohesiveness, interpersonal trust, harmony, cooperativeness, sacrifice, sharing, charity, work, celebration, faith, child bearing, and rights of property derived from work of land. This study articulates these values and demostrate how they are manifested in the lives of Mexican immigrants and their families.

THE WELFARE OF THE CHICANO ELDERLY

By

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INTRODUCTION

To discuss the welfare of the elderly becomes almost an unsurmountable task due to the complexities of the topic. To attempt to capture in a few written pages some of those complexities, plus additional ambiguities that impact on the welfare of the Chicano elderly to include linguistic, cultural, socio-economic, political and geographical variables superimposed and juxtaposed to one another, becomes almost a presumptuous task. This paper will present a more modest view of the topic.

I will primarily discuss certain conceptual tools that can be utilized to analyze the poverty conditions encountered by the Chicano elderly as well as some theoretical underpinnings of the existing strategies of welfare intervention; estimation of the share of welfare services provided to the Chicano elderly will be attempted through the examination of the major income sources and government programs available and accessible to them; the Chicano elderly's unique type of human capital that is utilized to cope with daily life will be explored. An initial attempt is made to explore the ways in which these coping patterns are impacted by welfare practices and value systems.

The discussion of this topic is of particular importance as it becomes a seminal attempt to deal with the factors that

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affect the Chicano elderly, particularly as they impede, or prevent, future action on their behalf. It has now become quite clear that the scarcity of data and research on the Chicano elderly is a major barrier to resolution of their existing conditions via certain planned strategies. Planning must proceed from a data base approach. Future discussion on methods of amelioration and intervention for the Chicano elderly must begin at this particular point. Future discussions should also deal with methods of gathering needed data.

Aging

Most people perceive aging, or becoming old, as a phase that is arrived at a later date in life; thus aging has been closely linked to the notion of chronological age. This approach is gradually changing as gerontologists continue to explore the possibility that the aging process occurs at a different rate for different people depending on a combination and permutation of a number of different factors. Physiological, functional and legal age are now being discussed as more appropriate measurements of the aging process; new conceptualizations of the aging process are coupled with the acceptance that aging takes place continuously throughout the life span rather than appearing as a spontaneous phenomena. It is now conceivable that physical deterioration, decreased ability to function independently, and/or death, can come earlier for some people than for others, and further, that circumstances, different and apart from chronological age, can be at the root of such an event.

This point is particularly important as we examine the small proportion of Chicano elderly in relation to their own population group and in relation to the total U.S. elderly population. It is now a well accepted fact that the poor old are merely the young poor who have become older. So it is with the Chicano elderly, they are simply the discriminated and poor young Chicanos who have become somewhat older. It is speculated that mortality rates for Chicanos are unusually high and that the aging process may reach our population group sooner than it does the rest of the population. This position is supported by available demographic data that indicate poor health, poor nutrition as outcomes of poverty and lack of accessibility to deal with poverty.

We cannot overlook the fact that life expectancy and the probability of survival is a function of the mortality rates of any given group. Additionally, high mortality rates have been closely correlated to poverty and its accompanying devastating effects. Even though the fertility rates of Chicanos is great[1] and the families are larger, one cannot argue that the proportion of elderly will increase in the future because the population will increase due to the increased birth rate, as it has been the general decline in the birth rate in the total population which in effect has contributed to the increase in the proportion of persons 65 years and over.

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[1] Fully three quarters (76%) of Mexican American families have children as compared to 56% in the total population and 52% of all Chicano families have three or more children as compared to 36% of the total U.S. Population.

Decline in mortality rates does not contribute to a rise in the proportion of older persons unless the decline has been concentrated at older ages.[2] This point is illustrated in the general population where the average length of life increased from 48 years in 1900 to 75 years in 1973; for females, this was an increase of 56%; for males, the increase was from 46 to 68 years, or 46%. Between 1900 and 1974, the percentage of the U.S. population over 65 more than doubled, an increase from 4.1% in 1900 to 14% in 1974, while their number increased sevenfold, or from 3 million to 22 million. In 1975[3] only 3.1% of Chicanos were 65 years and over.

In the future, not only will there be more elderly in the total U.S. population, but the elderly population is expected to continue to grow older, meaning that the mortality rate at this particular age range is declining.

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[2] Ansley J. Coale, "The Effects of Changes in Mortality and Fertility on the Age Composition," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXXIV, No.1, Jan. 1956, pp. 79-114. As cited in Bureau of the Census, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1975, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, U.S. Department of Commerce, Feb. 1976, p. 10.

[3] Statistics obtained from: Office of Special Concerns, A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities based on the 1970 Census, Vol.1: Planning and Evaluation, HEW, July 1974 and Administration on Aging, Facts About Older Americans 1975, Statistical Memo No.31. HEW, Publication No. (OHD) 75-20013, May 1975.

Our initial task, therefore, becomes the examination of the welfare of the elderly Chicano in terms of their devastating poverty, the causes of that poverty as well as the impact of poverty upon their survival, and at best, their adequate functioning in society.

A Profile of the Chicano Elderly

Demographic data regarding this population group is meager. Available information indicates that fewer Mexican Americans are chronologically old. Taken as a proportion of the adult population, 18 years old and over, there are only half as many elderly in the Chicano population (82%) as in the total population (15%). While the majority of Chicanos are urban dwellers, a greater proportion of the elderly are rural dwellers. Adults of middle age, or 45 to 64 years old, comprise two-thirds (65%) of the native born while 59% of the 65 years and over are foreign born. Slightly greater concentrations of elderly Chicanos are to be found in the states of Texas, New Mexico and Colorado, with 9%, 10% and 11%, respectively of the adult population. Those states that have larger numbers of recent immigrants have a much lower proportion of elderly individuals.

The low proportion of persons living alone without relatives (12%) is lower than in the total population (20%) which suggests that the Chicano elderly tend to reside with relatives; it appears that women in particular tend to stay with their families. There is a greater tendency for extended families to persist among Chicanos and particularly in rural areas,a factor that might lead us to speculate that the elderly remain with their families, and most likely, as an integral part of the familial network.

In any ethnic group low incomes appear closely related to the number of years of formal education completed by any individual. The same pattern appears as one examines the statistics regarding the Chicano elderly which indicate that while 58.8% of the males and 68.4% of the females 65 years and over had less than 5 years of school, 37.8% of the males and 35.4% of the females, with the same number of school years completed, had incomes lower than $3,000 per year.

Of all elderly Chicanos, 37% are poor, a proportion that is 11% above the national rate. A total of 26.5% of those 65 years and over are below low income level. The majority, or 88% of those 65 years and over, and 85% of those 55 years and over, still speak Spanish in the home.[4]

Colonization

Political theory and its unfolding developments provides one framework for the anlysis of the poverty conditions of certain ethnic and continental minorities such as Chicanos. The impact of the conquest, colonization, and continued oppression, has not engaged the attention of theoreticians until recently despite the fact that the Western body social has been involved in the wholesale conscription of manpower of no less than ten civilizations within the last 400 years. Although the process of standardization has blurred the characteristic features of the somewhat heterogeneous groups, there remain identifiable groups that still fulfill the functions of an "internal proletarian." Toynbee defines the "internal proletarian" as a "social element of groups which in some way is 'in' but not 'of' any given politic at any given stage of such society's history."[5]

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[4] Statistics for this section obtained in previously cited documents.

The core element of such a dilemma is the consciousness and resentment on the part of the individual who feels unwanted in a community which is his rightful home, and disinherited from his ancestral place in society. Although there is continuous geographic intermingling with the dominant group, a deep moral gulf exists between the two. This relationship is invariably followed by pauperization on the material plan, although subjective proletarianism is not incompatible with the possession of material assets.

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[5] Arnold J. Toynbee. A Study of History, Vol.V (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 63.

The internal proletarian consists usually of three distinct groups: (1) the disinherited and uprooted members of the native body social; (2) partially disinherited members of societies who were conquered and exploited without being torn up by the roots; (3) doubly disinherited members of alien deportee groups. However, these differences of origin are transcended by the overwhelming common experience of people who feel robbed of their social heritage and converted into social outcasts and/or oppressed populations.

The Chicano populations have been ascribed the status of the internal proletarian. The psychological and moral dimension of such a status are very much a part of this group's life existences; the impoverished conditions are characteristic of such a status.

Memmi states that colonial racism is built from three major ideological components: (1) the gulf between the culture of the colonialist and the colonized; (2) the exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonialist; (3) the use of these supposed differences as standards of absolute fact.[6]

Memmi further asserts that the colonized society is the consequence of two processes having opposite symptoms; i.e., "encystment originating internally and a restraint imposed from the outside.[7]" Both have the common factor of colonization, meaning that as long as one tolerates colonization the only possible alternative for the colonized is assimilation or petrification. Assimilation being refused him, nothing is left but to live isolated from his age. The individual or group is driven back by the forces of colonization. Planning and building a future is forbidden. The colonized must therefore limit himself to the present and even that present is cut off and abstract.[8]

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[6] Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized (New York: Orion Press, 1961), P. 71.

Fanon states that the problem of colonialism includes not only the interrelations of objective historical conditions but also involves human attitudes toward these conditions.[9] Even though colonization is, above all, economic and political exploitation, it also distorts human relationships and destroys or petrifies institutions as well.[10]

The "internal colonialism" paradigm argues that Chicano life styles have been largely disrupted by various means of oppression. Blauner proposes that "despite the variation in political and social structure" between the classic colony and the present practices, a "common process of social oppression" characterizes both. This colonization process involves: (1) forced, involuntary entry; (2) the "colonizing power carries out a policy which constrains, transforms, or destroys indigenous values, orientations, and ways of life"; (3) " an experience of being managed and manipulated by outsiders in terms of ethnic status"; and (4) racism.[11] Moore contends that the case of the Chicano more closely approximates classic colonialism since Chicanos were originally indigenous to the Southwest and in the majority.[12] The view of the colonized Chicano has been emphasized by Chicano theoreticians particularly to deal with the growing preference for the cultural pluralism paradigm to describe the Chicano experience. It is firmly belived by Chicanos that cultural pluralism and equality cannot exist without economic equality and mobility, and that the cultural pluralism approach does not address itself to the roots of the poverty conditions and political implications faced by Chicanos and by extension the Chicano elderly.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Colonialism is the establishment and maintenance, for an extended time or rule, over an alien people that is separate from and subordinate to the ruling power. It also has been defined as the domination of an alien minority as well as asserting racial and cultural superiority or the imposing of an alien government on subordinate societies. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Vol.3,ed. Davil L. Sills (U.S.:The McMillan Company and the Free Press, 1970), pp. 1-12.

[9] Franz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967), p. 84.

[10] Memmi. op. cit., p. 149.

The self-concept consists of sets of images organized and internalized according to group norms communicated and reinforced over time through a variety of daily experiences and interactions. It is generally agreed that a positive self perception is crucial to adequately and comfortably function in one's surroundings. One discovers who one is as a consequence of experience; the self image is affected by relationships, expectations, failures, and by successes in experiences with others. Self worth, self identity, and the impact of the environment become inseparable. Ortega y Gasset, the Spanish writer and scholar, succinctly describes such a relationship between the self and the transactional field when he states:

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[11] Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt." Social Problems. Vol.16. Spring, 1960. pp. 393-408.

[12] Joan W. Moore, "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican American." Social Problems. Vol.17. Spring 1970. pp. 463-472.

"Soy yo y mis circunstancias"

Psychologically, the self concept is the most vulnerable component in the transaction between minority and majority populations. Negative stereotypes, for example, aim at the perpetuation of the depreciation and undermining of the self worth. Identification with significant others in the process of formation of the self concept can suffer irreparable damage if the socialization process prevents significant and familiar symbols to be present and reinforced at various levels of experience. The sense of belonging, crucial in the development of the self-concept, becomes blurred if one's language and cultural experiences are not reflected and supported, but rather given a negative connotation in the environment.

The Elizabethan Poor Laws

The early welfare programs of this country were closely patterned after the British Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601 and couched in the moral assumptions of the nineteenth century. To be poor indicated a mark of deviation for which moral condemnation was necessary. Poverty was seen as a matter of ignorance or as a failure to work and save at best, and at worst as a result of inherent character weaknesses or defect. The English Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 clearly aimed to separate the worthy from the unworthy poor by withholding pensions from those who habitually failed to work according to ability and need and those who had failed to save money regularly. The notion of welfare was primarily a system of control. The Poor Laws were characterized by their quasi-disciplinary functions although primarily created to ameliorate in some way the distress of the disadvantaged. The help provided had to be minimal in order not to disturb the beliefs about how people ought to behave. Expected behavior, therefore, was central in activating an act of public or private charity.

Welfare programs within this moral context were seen as having a residual function. The assumptions were that such help existed only to meet the emergency needs of individuals when they were incapable of providing for themselves through the expected institutions of the family and the market. These groups included the poor, dependent children, the handicapped and the old.

Out of these value assumptions two corollaries emerge. Welfare officials were seen as having the responsibility to police the deviants and dependants through the benevolence of the middle and upper classes. Control was expressed by the expected norms of behavior of one class for another. The other corollary was that welfare services should be geared to treat the manifestations of the perceived problem in the individual rather than in other aspects of society and its various processes. Juxtaposed to this value perspective, social well-being was seen to emerge from the free operation of market forces and therefore social welfare could not come into play unless the normal structures of society broke down. Emphasis on economic solutions alone via financial assistance concealed the issue of control and power.

The development and growth of this type of programs reflected the values that were popular at that particular time. Its origins coincided with European colonialist and expansionist policies that culminated in this country in the late 1800's and early 1900's. Development of Poor Houses and Alms Houses and other early welfare programs instituted by public and private sources reflected the value systems of the period to include in addition the Protestant values of work, self reliance, and the belief that mankind alone was responsible for its sins and suffering, as well as for its well being.

These attitudinal configurations were clearly reflected in many aspects of the previous Old Age Assistance Program as illustrated by the restrictive residence requirements that emphasized localism and regionalism, citizenship regulations, the below survival levels of the grants, the punitive attitudes of the eligibility workers, and the investigating and policing functions of the local offices of the District Attorney that have had the responsibility for tracking the abusers of the regulations. These values have as well been reflected in the sensationalist tactics of the press and other media when an isolated case of the "abuser" is identified. The agents of the welfare systems consume a role of control and the welfare programs perform regulatory functions.

A gross example of the accepted "regulatory" function of welfare departments in this country was made clear by their participation in the massive deportations of Mexican Americans to Mexico during the years of the Depression (1934-1937). The local welfare offices of the Los Angeles area alone engineered 15 trainloads of about 1,000 persons each that transported these people to Mexico. There is no accurate estimate as to how many deportees and repatriated persons were actually United States citizens by birthright or naturalization.[13]

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[13] Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico; The Spanish Speaking People of the Southwest (New York: Greenwood Press, 1949) pp. 167-169.

All of these practices have an impact on the elderly Chicano who is an integral part of the family unit and tends to remain within the boundaries of the family. This pattern carries mutual responsibilities mainly as a result of the allocation of roles and division of labor in order to facilitate the interaction among the family's various age groups, and meet mutual and individual needs. Nurturing and discipline are often shares among the various significant members within the family. Unlike the classical division of labor in the nuclear family these functions are not necessarily restricted to the members of the immediate family, such as the father and the mother, but rather are shared with the grandparents and other family members.

A modest study conducted in an urban area in Denver, Colorado supports this particular pattern. Eighty-four (84%) of the respondents said they had raised one or more grandchildren in their own homes at some point in their lives. The responsibilities included either complete care and upbringing; extended care over months or even years; or day care for years while the parent or parents worked. The reasons for such patterns ranged from aiding in time of crisis to an expression of the grown children to ameliorate the loneliness of the elderly parents, "para que no se sientan tan solos cuando los hijos se van." The elderly saw this function as the most important one in their old age. The other valuable aspect of this custom is that the grandparents often assume a most significant role in the transmittal of cultural values and patterns.[14]

The handling of the adolescent crisis by Mexican American families is another case in point. It is not unusual for the adolescent to spend some time with other members of the family kinship, particularly the grandparents, so as to dilute the emotions related to the resolution of the identity crisis. Taking care of the family's children is as well an expression of familiar coping patterns that allows for the sharing of the costs associated with raising large families. In-built day care systems for small children are not uncommon among Chicano families.

However, granting financial aid under the Aid to Dependent Children has been based on the nuclear family model; therefore, social services emphasize the value systems and patterns of this type of family. If the adolescent youngster, or the small child, spends a prolonged period of time with the grandparents the financial aid is deducted from the family grant by the amount allocated to the child in the family budget. If these practices are de-emphasized the message is clearly given to all of the actors involved that the children are being rejected by the natural parents by allowing them to be at the grandparent's home, possibly creating an unnecessary conflict situation that will contribute to a diminished sense of self worth on the part of the children and guilt on the part of the parents.

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[14] Marta Sotomayor, A Study of Chicano Grandparents in an Urban-Barrio, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Denver, 1973, pp. 73-87.

Foster home regulations that often utilize material criteria to measure adequacy for child care can exclude the home of the poor Chicano grandparents. The subtle pressures for adoption of out-of-wedlock children, again, can be contrary to some cultural patterns that value mutual care and sharing of responsibility for bringing up children, and very well include the grandparents. Welfare and adoption regulations can exclude the elderly poor Chicano grandparents from the care of grandchildren since the adoption evaluation gives great emphasis to material goods. In the child welfare field practices it is the exception, rather than the rule, to seek the grandparents as significant others but rather dependent and neglected children are placed in foster homes or detention homes.

Notwithstanding a number of changes that are taking place within the welfare systems, the point we wish to underline here is how the issue of control has been exercised through the enforcement of middle class, Anglo values via the vehicle of services, regulations, or at times under the threat of discontinuing the financial help if the preferred values are not accepted. Therefore, the granting of financial assistance can become a method of enforcing and policing the maintenance of the value system of the caretakers and their values that more often than not ignore, or undermine, the significant role played by the elderly Chicano grandparent. The end result can be the destruction of cultural natural helping patterns that can well contribute to their sense of social isolation.

The value systems reflected in service practices coincide with, and reinforce, the goals and objectives of the process of colonization. They retain certain groups of people in previously ascribed status and roles in order to keep them "in their place" by giving emphasis on adjustment and/or conformity to the value system of the colonizer. Chicanos in particular are susceptible to the impact of these policies and procedures as close to one out of eight (12%) are on public assistance, more than twice the rate for all U.S. families.[15]

Modernization Theory

Modernization theory provides an additional framework for the analysis of the effects of the material dearth experienced by the elderly Chicanos and the development of welfare strategies that have the potential of destroying natural, mutual help networks developed in order to survive a colonized experience.

Moore states that modernization means "joining the club" of world knowledge through the adoption of organizational and technological know-how that is usually identified with the modern world.[16] Economic development, the vehicle through which societies join the club, is the instrumental process for other reforms to take place; it can be interpreted as an intermediate phase in social transformation. Changes follow in such areas as education, child rearing practices, means of economic support, religion, culturally predetermined norms, and the provision of those services associated with the welfare of the population through the development of new, special social units. Modernization includes a higher standard of living, more equitable distribution of resources, the opening of social mobility, and the differentiation of cultural and value systems.

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[15] Office of Special Concerns, op. cit.

The total effect of this differentiation is that the needs of social units, which previously served a wide variety of functions, are then met by more "effective specialized units."[17] These new units develop their own authority and structure, their own set of norms which define and prescribe behavior, and their own system of rewards and sanctions to induce conformity and discourage deviation.[18]

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[16] Wilbert E. Moore, The Impact of Industry, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1965) p.11.

[17] Neil J. Smelser, "Toward a Theory of Modernization", Social Change, eds. Amitai Etzioni and Eva Etzioni (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964) p. 261

[18] Ibid. p. 254.

Most theoreticians on modernization assert that the end result of modernization is a total, profound, persistent, and lasting transformation of all the aspects of social, political, religious, economic, intellectual, and the psychological life of participants as well as their respective institutions.

The provision of health and welfare services within the context of modernization is defined as a front-line function of modern industrial society. It is believed that in an industrial society all citizens may require such services at any point in time, the natural helping networks having outgrown their usefulness and been replaced by others through the inevitable outcome of modernization. It is assumed that modernization, the just equalizer of all peoples, utilizes welfare services as one of its main strategies of change.

However, according to Moore, the belief that all cultures through modernization will converge towards a common culture overlooks that prior diversity of societies, the historical period in which modernization is taking place, the resistance of values to change, as well as the possibility of ideological changes and interchanges between cultures. He states that:

> ...converging societies still can provide alternative models of ideologies, political controls, peripheral structural features, and available models that permit a degree of choice that was not available earlier.[19]

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[19] Arnold S. Feldman and Wilbert E. Moore, "Industrialization and industrialism: Convergence and Differentiation", Transaction of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology (Washington: September 1962) quoted from Wilbert Moore, Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 97.

This can well mean that despite the fundamental expected changes brought about by modernization, preferred Chicano cultural patterns can be retained and supported.

The statistics available for the Chicano population as a whole indicate that modernization has not created the expected changes for this group and that a reason for this could be that Chicanos continue to live in the encapsulated barrios typical of colonized populations. This conclusion is supported by the continuous low educational levels and high drop-out rates. For example, in 1970 only one-quarter (27%) of the Chicanos 16 years of age and over had graduated from high school, a figure seriously below the 55% of the U.S. population; almost one-half (47%) of all Chicano males 16 years and over have not progressed beyond the eight grade as compared to 27% of all U.S. males 16 years and over.[20]

Despite the Civil Rights Movement the labor market is not providing additional avenues of entry for Chicanos as indicated by the almost double proportion of Chicano males that are unemployed compared to the national rate.[21] Twenty-six percent (26%) of all Chicano females and 25% of the males are employed in low skilled, blue-collar occupations as compared to 14% and 11% respectively for the entire population. Of all Chicano males 16 and over, 43% have an annual income of less than $4,000 with the Chicana woman hardly represented in the labor force. Close to one-quarter (24%) of all Chicano families in this country are in poverty, a proportion twice as great as in the total population (11%).[22] In view of such figures it is unrealistic to conclude that the over-all condition of the Chicano will change much in the very near future. The prospects for betterment of the present and future Chicano elderly looks equally dim.

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[20] Office of Special Concerns, op. cit.

[21] The total unemployment rate for minorities in general is estimated to be 13.3% as compared to the total national rate of 6.8%, probably a more accurate figure than the one provided by the Census Bureau based on 1970 data. Sylvia Porter, "Who's to Blame for the High Jobless Rate?" The Houston Post, August 29, 1976. p. 5AA.

The Welfare State

Changing definitions of poverty tend to reflect ideological changes in society. There is a growing awareness that societal and institutional arrangements, as well as resource allocation patterns, must make provisions not only to enhance social functioning but to promote the belief that every individual has the capacity to have satisfying lives. This more recent conception of welfare extends beyond services to the needy and/or deviant, and defines welfare as a front-line function of modern industrial society. Welfare services are seen as the inevitable outcome of a major structural tendency in the process of modernization. It is believed that all citizens in an industrial society may require welfare services at any point in time. Welfare is therefore perceived as performing a developmental function.[23]

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[22] Office of Special Concerns, op. cit.

It is believed that through the process of convergence, and despite differences in economic and political systems, or ideologies, as well as likes or dislikes of the masses, all industrialized and industrializing countries eventually develop certain comprehensive health and welfare programs that show a variety of similarities among which stand out the manner of financing. A complex industrial society is defined in terms of high levels of consumption leading to economic growth and where economic development is interpreted as an intermediate phase in social transformation.

A most important point is that the Welfare State assumes a social rather than a moral explanation of need, collective responsibility for problems, citizen's rights to minimum economic security, and promotion of equalizing opportunities through the redress of power distribution and social policy questions.[24]

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[23] Harold L. Wilinsky. The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) p. 87.

[24] John M. Romanyshyn. Social Welfare; Charity to Justice (New York: Random House, 1971).

One of the most significant changes that accompany the Welfare State is the development of new, special social units that replace the natural units that previously met the needs of the citizenry. For example, schools more and more assume the functions previously delegated to the family, and to the elderly specifically; child care and transmission of the culture is delegated to child care centers thus taking a significant function away from the grandparents; nursing homes are established to care for the dependent elderly, a previous function of the family; social insurance programs grow to provide for the elderly when they are eased out of the economic stream, a previous function reserved for the family; the value of social responsibility among kinsmen weakens as previous kinship obligations change, or kinship relationships become permissive rather than obligatory as other options for care emerge; the individual is more likely to make it on his own and thus reduce the necessity for consulting with the kin networks on important decisions causing the decision making process to change; the mutual reciprocal helping patterns are diminished since members of the extended kinship are reluctant to ask for help since the internal dynamics have shifted.

In a modern society the government is seen as having a direct concern with protected minimum standards of income, nutrition, health, housing, education, transfer of resources, and the creation of human services. These services are to be assure to each citizen as a political right and not as charity.[25] Further, welfare programs are perceived as earned rather than unearned. Equality of access to services as well as the quality of services provided, frame the key questions regarding the Welfare State and its programs. Social insurance programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid fall within this category of services but it also includes national health services, flat-rate pensions, family allowances, labor market and manpower programs, rent supplements, and certain portions of public welfare.

Even though these programs assume a different value framework critics continue to articulate a range of concerns. Most of the criticisms depart from the central question of who gets what, how and why. One side proposes that the Welfare State rewards the idle and the impoverished (a category that now includes the college student) and that these programs continue to undermine the virtues of thrift, disciplined work and self reliance,[26] as well as encouraging welfare chiselers. On the other side are the critics who believe that the Welfare State increases the power of the state, that it promotes the growth of bureaucracies and that these units inevitably become arrogant and self expanding, as well as self serving, and cannot die a normal death when they have outlived their usefulness. Furthermore, and what might be more important, is that these programs do not produce either security or quality and much less economic equality to ameliorate the poverty conditions of groups such as Chicanos.

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[25] Wilensky, op. cit., p.1.

[26] Wilensky, op. cit., p. xv.

Interestingly enough, similar criticisms are made by the liberals who state that the bureaucracies have become the policing arm of society in relation to the poor and that they are trying to make replica status-seekers of the poor. Further, the liberals state that the regulatory functions of the bureaucracies destroy the spontaneity and informality of the subculture of poverty as well as destroying the various ethnic and religious traditions through the palliative quality of the majority of its programs. The cry for social reform continues to be heard.

It is generally agreed that, at least in the short run, most of the programs of the Welfare State produce some income redistribution in their payment. Whether in the long run these programs will be key factors in economic development becomes another question. Significantly the Welfare State programs grew out of modernization when birth rates declined and the proportion of the aged increased. With this demographic fact the aged gained in importance and the economic value of children decreased exerting further pressure for welfare spending. The Welfare State, as such, has become the symbol of the ambiguous position of the aged in modern society, both dependent and independent, a minority of strategic importance in public spending.[27]

The reality of our present system impacts on the old in general, but impacts more on the minority elderly, specifically the Chicano elderly. Particularly important is the role played by fiscal welfare in taxation systems as most of these programs are subsidized, or paid for, by the public at large. Of equal importance is the role that occupational welfare plays in meeting a variety of needs in cash, or in kind, through the mechanism of occupational status as well as length of service in the private and public employment sectors. For example, cadres of professionals and paraprofessionals are trained to man the enormous bureaucracies that deliver and/or administer the variety of programs of the Welfare State. As Titmuss points out: "One of the consequences of analytically leaving out of account these categories of welfare (providers and administrators) is to constrict and limit the role of social welfare or social policy; thus the role becomes a marginal one leaving social welfare wholly or mainly for the poor people and certain dependent groups."[28] They become problems to be solved mainly as neglected, or categorized as social pathology, and the stigmatization will continue. As long as welfare is seen as a compensation to the needy or as a vehicle for social change that has the potential to create economic growth in all societies irrespective of their unique circumstances, we will continue to have problems.

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[27] Wilensky, op. cit. pp. 47-48

[28] Richard M. Titmuss, "Developing Social Policy in Conditions of Rapid Change; The Role of Social Welfare." Paper presented at the Opening Session of the XVI International Conference on Social Welfare, The Hage, Netherlands, Unpublished Manuscript (August 13, 1972) p. 10.

Programs for the Elderly

At least six categories in recent social welfare policy developments in the form of federal programs can be identified; these can be divided into five categories: cash transfers, in-kind transfers, direct services, human capital programs, and community development programs. Two of these programs have a greater impact on the elderly: (1) cash transfers and (2) in-kind transfers.

Programs that give money directly to the elderly, or cash transfers, depend on age for eligibility and are called retirement, or age entitlement programs. They include Old Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI), Medicare, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and Section 292 of the Federal Housing Act. Programs that help individuals buy essentials now predominate the federal domestic budget. Since the 1974 Budget, clearly the aged and the disabled have received an increasing proportion of federal benefits.[30]

In-kind transfers provide goods and services to the elderly. The eligibility for this set of programs is dependent upon financial need and include Medicaid, community health programs, food stamps, low-rent public housing and are referred as need entitlement programs. These programs are more widely used because of the high number of elderly poor. They have the primary goal to increase the consumption by the poor.

Some of these programs were initially included in the 1935 Social Security Act and later amended to establish social insurance programs and income-tested cash programs. These programs were the Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance and Aid to the Aged (a program that by 1975 had grown to 65 billion dollars).[31] The 1972 Amendment, implemented in 1974 and called the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) administered by the social Security Administration, represents a significant step towards a guaranteed annual income in that it requires that public assistance for some groups be assumed by the federal government.[32]

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[30] Edward R. Ried, et. al. Setting National Priorities: The 1974 Budget. (Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1973) p. 6.

[31] Robert D. Plotnich and Felicity Skidmore. Progress Against Poverty: A Review of the 1964-1974 Decade. (New York:Academic Press, Inc., 1975) p. 12.

[32] Byron Gold, Elizabeth Kutza and Theodore Marmor. "United States Social Policy and Old Age: Present Patterns and Predictions". February, 1976.

These amendments have directly affected the elderly as they have increased benefits, have attempted to create uniformity in eligibility standards to do away with the state-to-state variability, and have provided provisions for discretionary state implementation. Cash transfer programs include Social Security benefits; civil service and railroad retirement benefits; veteran's pensions and compensation and federal contributions to public assistance for the aged, blind and disabled; and the SSI program. With the passage of the Social Security Act and its provisions for Old Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI), federal action for the first time significantly affected the incomes of the elderly, although it made provisions only for retired persons. Since then the elderly have frequently been singled out for special attention.[33]

Federal public housing programs for the low-income families have been in existence since 1937. The Housing Act of 1956 made special housing provisions for the elderly, consolidated some programs into a new department and made allowances to provide funds to local authorities to lease privately-owned units to rent as public housing. The rent supplement program began in 1965 at which time the government began to pay the difference between market rents and one-quarter of the tenants' adjusted income. The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 added two more housing subsidies to the system. Section 236 provides a low interest rate to lenders of privately owned, low-rental income projects, and Section 235 is a home ownership program aimed to encourage home ownership among the poor through interest-rate subsidies, reduced mortgage costs, and low down payments. A moratorium on new subsidized housing has existed since 1973.

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[33] Ibid. p. 3.

The first major food stamp program was in operation between 1939 and 1943, but it was not until 1960 that expenditures on food programs began to increase when the surplus commodity program was expanded by executive order and when the Congress approved a food stamp program. By 1973 the food stamp program became the largest and most important in-kind transfer program. Medicaid, which in effect is larger, is often categorized as a service provider program rather than as commodities.

In July 1974, legislation made food stamps available to all persons who qualified under the income test, although not more than one-half of those eligible are receiving benefits.[34] It is believed that this program has become a universal guaranteed annual income for food. The food commodities program previously available for public assistance recipients and other "low income people" is being phased out.

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[34] Plotnick, op. cit., p. 16

Additional titles added to the Social Security Act were put into operation in 1966 and deal with the delivery of health care. These were Medicare for the aged and Medicaid for the welfare population and other medical indigents.

The Medicare origins were strictly political; the decision to use a Medicare strategy was part of an on-going policy contest in which the most stubborn advocates of the Truman health proposal were defeated by the proponents of incrementalism.[35] After decades of struggle to pass a national health insurance Medicare program, a truly limited program for the aged, it was piggybacked onto the more popular system of Old Age and Survivor Insurance.[36] The program came into effect in July 1966. Medicare is a voluntary enrollment program requiring a $3.00 monthly payment in order to participate. Health facilities must satisfy several standards dealing with quality of care in addition to offering proof that its services are rendered on a nondiscriminatory basis in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[37]

Trends indicate that a smaller proportion is being spent on cash assistance to the poor elderly and a larger proportion on in-kind transfers. In the years of 1973-1974 more than 50%

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[35] Theodore Marmor. The Politics of Medicare. (Chicano: Aldine Publishing Company, 1973) p. 99

[36] Welinsky, op. cit., p. 42.

[37] Plotnick, op. cit., p. 63.

of the benefits from food stamps, Medicaid, housing and Social Security Income (SSI) which grew as much as the overall average.[38] By fiscal year 1974 nearly 30 million people, or 15% of the population, received Social Security benefits.[39]

Other programs that have been developed to service the elderly include senior service centers, nutrition programs, homemaker services and transportation services. It is estimated that the aggregate impact on 20 million aged in the U.S. is not significant and that Social Security and Medicare are the programs of major importance. It is believed that in most probability it is the evolution of these two programs that will primarily shape U.S. policy on old age.[40]

An additional set of programs that quite possibly affect the elderly more than any of the above programs, and which include various types of government provisions that deal with the basic structure of our economic system, include redistributive decisions such as taxation practices, regulatory activities such as those regarding private pensions, monetary policies such as interest rates and inflation, and biomedical research as it affects the prolongation and quality of life.

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[38] Ibid. p. 178.

[39] Fried, op. cit., p. 71.

[40] Gold, op. cit., p. 5.

Analysis of the Strategies of the Welfare Society vis-a-vis the Resolution of the Conditions Faced by the Chicano Elderly.

The analysis of the impact of these programs upon the Chicano elderly raises different issues from those that apply to the previous category of residual welfare programs. The main questions can be subsumed under the following two broad categories: (1) has there been, in fact, a fundamental change in the redistribution of resources that led to economic equity among the various elderly populations; and (2) are the objectives of the established programs, in fact, appropriate tools to equalize the status of a poor, elderly and colonized population, such as the Chicano elderly, with that of the elderly of the majority population.

The few facts available about this population group, and our own personal experience in working with them, clearly demostrate that the Chicano elderly, more than any other aged group, are disproportionately represented at the lower end of the money income distribution. It becomes quite clear that the goals and objectives of the Welfare Society have not reached the Chicano elderly. The following analysis of the various programs indicate that changes are not to come in the near future unless some fundamental changes take place. It must be made quite clear that the elderly and the conditions they face must be resolved only in the context of society as a whole.

The dramatic increase of social welfare programs during the past 15 years has been due primarily to the creation of many new programs. The growth has taken place with little concern for the relationship among them. The unique provisions that characterize each of the programs, and their individual complexities, have lead not only to administrative confusion and expense, but more significantly, to confusion among recipients. This situation is further complicated by the mix of benefits which include cash, food, housing, medical care and a long list of services, to the point of creating great discrepancy between planned and actual impact. "It is estimated that 1975 approximately 22% of older Americans will receive assistance from at least one of the three income-conditioned programs or SSI, Food Stamps and Medicaid. Of these beneficiaries, 49% are estimated to participate in only one program, 34% in two programs and 17% in all three programs. The most significant overlap is between SSI and Medicaid with 41% of the recipient units receiving assistance from both. The Food Stamp/Medicaid overlap affects 26% of the recipient units while Food Stamp/SSI overlap involve only 18%. Over 50% of the participants, or nearly 3.5 million receive benefits from two or more programs, and all of these units are likely at some time to be affected by program interactions."[41]

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[41] Federal Council on Aging; Annual Report to the President-1975, (Washington, D.C.: Federal Council on the Aging, 1976) p. 27.

One of the great difficulties in the solution of this situation is the gross lack of information about the nature and the extent of the problem. The complicated interrelationship among the various existing programs leads to a failure to treat the elderly in equal terms. Very little evidence is available concerning the change in the level of health services, housing, and nutrition of the aged over this period.

The Federal Council on Aging, Annual Report to the President 1975, succinctly lists the many reasons why these programs have failed to create equity among the delivery of benefits to the poor elderly; the same reasons apply to the Chicano elderly. These are:

- o The income tests utilized to qualify for specific programs vary from program to program and often overlook changes in the cost of living. Some programs automatically increase the level of benefits during periods of price inflation at the same rate as the Consumer Price Index (CPI) while others do not.

- o The manner in which benefits are allocated in terms of income received from other programs in many instances reduces the benefits from other programs increase. For example, SSI State supplements are not as a rule increased at the same rate as the CPI but the SSI Federal and Social Security payments are, and therefore is countable income. The result is that for every dollar that the government provides to compensate for the cost of living increase is deducted by the State government. We know that the Chicano elderly suffer most from this anomaly simply because of lacking or low Social Security entitlement and the need to rely on State SSI. Of all U.S. family heads who are 65 years old and over, 84% receive Social Security,but only

72% of Mexican Americans in this category do.[42]

- The assets tests vary from program to program and often treat homeowners and renters differently, and further, they do not phase out benefits smoothly as assets increase. This practice does not take into account the distribution of assets and is, therefore, much less equitable than the distribution of wages and salaries. We already know that the income of the Chicano elderly is lower than that of the total age cohorts; it follows that the value of their assets has to be lower. Their income was lower to begin with, lower still in old age. and further, they are dissaving their assets, usually in the form of depreciation of consumer durables (i.e., car, house, furniture).

- Low participation rates in certain programs create unequal utilization rates. There are good indications that not all eligible Chicano elderly receive benefits from some of the entitlement programs which have categorical eligibility requirements; i.e., low income, disability, veteran status, SSI, Food Stamps, Medicaid, even though all of these programs have open -ended funding and thus do not ration the benefits to all who are eligible. This means that all who qualify are legally entitled to benefits. A number of questions arise regarding utilization patterns of Chicano elderly: (1) do they know about the programs, (2) what attitudes do the elderly of this population group have about requesting benefits vis-a-vis a life long experience of discrimination and prejudice, (3) do they have adequate accessibility to programs and (4) what are the communication patterns encountered that interfere with utilization of services (communication to include utilization of the Spanish language).

- The application process for the needs test program is spread across several agencies. The applicant most often than not will need to be certified for initial eligibility six separate times and report back to these four or five offices at various and different times throughout the year to report income and assets for the recalculation of benefit levels. The States have a great deal of leeway in establishing eligibility for Medicaid when the applicant is not receiving benefits from SSI, but in most States receipt of SSI payments results in automatic eligibility for Medicaid. In all States receipt of SSI payments results in eligibility for Food Stamps if all members of the household are eligible for SSI. Therefore, if the person's income consists of earned income and Social Security benefits they may not qualify for Medicare or Food Stamps, but if the person has the same total income but it consists of SSI and earned income they can qualify for both programs.

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[42] Office of Special Concerns, op. cit.

- All of these Federal programs are State or locally administered. There are at least eleven Federal and Federally subsidized State benefit programs. Data collection becomes extremely difficult and complicated. We do not know who apply, who is eligible of those who do apply, and who of those eligible actually get the benefits. We have, therefore, no way of assessing the impact of those benefits on the betterment of the conditions of the poor elderly.[43]

The variety of programs and eligibility requirements, plus the administrative procedures, are bewildering for all elderly. We can speculate how much more complicated it becomes for the Chicano elderly who encounter additional problems, such as ethnic and language discrimination and inadequate additional reaching out strategies. If reaching out strategies exist, more often than not the networks of communication familiar to them are not utilized or other environmental factors such as lack of adequate transportation or the physical disabilities of the elderly, are not taken into consideration. In spite of all this, the Mexican American elderly are more likely to attribute responsibility to the federal government for providing health care, housing and transportation as compared to the white cohorts who are more likely to attribute responsibility to family and the individual as well as to the local government.[44]

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[43] Federal Council on Aging; Annual Report to the President - 1975, op. cit., pp. 5-54.

The Human Capital of the Chicano Elderly and its Impact on Their Welfare

There are a number of additional factors that prevent a more accurate evaluation of the welfare of the poor elderly despite the fact that government in-kind and money transfers have increased tremendously in the last 40 years. For example, economists argue that government in-kind services such as medical care and food distribution are substitutes for market goods and services but that no consideration is given to the availability of other government inputs such as public goods to include neighborhoods in which the aged can function adequately and happily. It is pointed out that most welfare studies assume that location is fixed and no consideration is given to the characteristics of the environment; i.e., the facilities needed to allow continued interaction of the aged with the rest of the population. These ordinary amenities include adequate transportation, building facilities, safety, and the social atmosphere. These amenities are not usually considered as essentials for the welfare of the aged but if they are considered they could give us a better view of the welfare of the elderly, particularly the poor elderly such as the Chicano.[45] For example, Torres-Gil found that the elderly Mexican American has definite problems in mobility as fewer elderly women had driver's licenses, more were dependent on others, and more experienced mobility problems particularly in bus use patterns. Additional problems were encountered with crime, health and language barriers. Although the Chicano male felt these problems to a lesser degree, they nevertheless were there.[46] These factors and others are not included when measuring the welfare of the poor.

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[44] Pauline K. Ragan and J. Eugene Gosby, "Responsibility for Meeting the Needs of the Elderly for Health Care, Housing and Transportation: Opinions Reported in a Survey of Blacks, Mexican Americans and Whites." Andrus Gerontology Center; University of Southern California, 1975.

The welfare of the aged is closely related to circumstances and actions taken in earlier life periods. These capitol factors include labor market participation and productivity, the early physical environment, the extent and quality of health care, earlier educational attainment and its effect on health and other areas, early work skills, effect of unionization or lack of unionization, age pension eligibility, wage rates (ususally correlated to retirement income), size of family, race, white collar jobs vis-a-vis concentration on blue collar jobs, and family assets.

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[45] George S. Tolley, Richard Burkhauser, "Economics of the Elderly." The University of Chicago, November 1974, Unpublished Manuscript.

[46] Fernando Torres-Gil and Deborah Newquist, "Transportation and the Older Mexican American" Sex Differences in Mobility Patterns and Problems." Andrus Gerontology Center, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 1976.

All of these above factors affect the Chicano elderly negatively. For example,[47] it has been suggested that investment in education increases the productivity of people in home production as well as in the labor force, which means that even though retirement income (from whatever source) may be equalized they will have different consumption levels.[48] The effects of education on health has also been studied and it has been pointed out that an aged individual with a larger stock of education and health will be in a better position in terms of welfare even though he might have the same budget at later years.[49]

Conclusions and Recommendations

While it is true that in general welfare programs accompany economic growth, it is also true that they are impacted by the interplay of political elite perceptions, mass and power group pressures, and welfare bureaucracies; therefore, they continue to create inequalities that become additional social problems that can only be resolved through the political process . It is no different with programs developed for elderly populations.

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[47] Tolley, op. cit., p. 23.

[48] Robert Michael "Education in Non-Market Production," Journal of Political Economy, 81 (March/April 1973) pp. 306-327.

[49] M. Grossman, "On the Concept of Health Capital and the Demand for Health." Journal of Political Economy, 80 (March/April 1972) pp. 223-255. As cited in Tolley, op. cit. p. 17.

The Administration on Aging (AOA), created under the Older Americans Act of 1965, was given the charge to serve as the expert on the affairs of the elderly and advocate on their behalf. It was to act in instrumental ways as well , by providing advice, consultation, research, information, function monitoring and evaluation in order to stimulate the development of needed services, mesh various types of services as well as to assure that services were accessible to those with needs. The regulations of the Act provide that minority elderly are to receive priority in relation to services, at least in proportion to their representation in the total population. A study conducted by the U.S. Human Resources Corporation for the Administration on Aging concludes that the interests of the poor and minority elderly are not being represented. Further, that effective advocacy requires certain types of resources and technical skills which the poor and minority elderly lack.[50]

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[50] U.S. Human Resources Corporation, "Public Services Consultation Organizations Advocating in Behalf of the Elderly Poor and Minorities: A Model Project," Title III, San Francisco, California, March 1976.

It is clear that changes will need to be taken in the political arena and that solutions will need to utilize strategies suggested under the broad area of the politics of aging which deal with the "political behavior and political input of elderly persons within political processes and structures."[51] It is argued that in American politics the interests of citizens are best represented through organized interest groups, and that government distributes among private groups the power to make policy after some degree of accommodation has been taken among the diverse interest groups. What is important is the perception that goods and resources are distributed in a competitive arena characterized by power strategies in conflict.

While the elderly often have been described as a power group and presently hold a privileged position in the competition for government resources, it is clear that they do not have sufficient power to control political systems. Some argue that elderly organizations can have at least some power to have an impact on elected officials, legislative staffs, and bureaucrats who can influence the direction of decision making and the allocation of resources, incremental as they might be.

Political involvement among the white elderly is quite common and possibly effective, particularly in relation to its historical context and present privileged position in budgetary strategies. Torres-Gil points out that political participation of the Chicano elderly is most necessary in order to get their "share of monies, programs, legislation and benefits from local, state and federal governments."[52]

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[51] Fernando Torres-Gil and Richard Verdugo, "The Politics of Aging Among Mexican American Elderly," Andrus Gerontology Center, University of Southern California: Los Angeles, Calif. 1976, Unpublished Document.

Contrary to the belief that the Mexican American elderly are not generally considered to be active, or potentially active, participants in political activities Torres-Gil found that although political activism per se (participation in civic groups, voting, campaigning, or attending political meetings) was low, their political awareness and political efficacy can be relatively high. He concluded that their political participation exists, therefore, and that effective organizing for action should take place.[53]

Conclusions

The actual disparities between minorities of color and the majority in terms of income, education, employment, housing and other conditions of life have not changed greatly; the victories of the Civil Rights Movement remain only as symbolic gains. Minority-majority politics continue to revolve around the actual inequalities that exist between these two groups in income, jobs, housing, health, education and other conditions of life which comprise the human capital so necessary to evaluate the welfare of the elderly. The problem of inequality has to be posed as one of differences in the "life chances" between the majority and the minority populations of the country.

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[52] Torres-Gil, op. cit.

[53] Ibid.

The "life chance" question is translated to inequality of opportunity and allocation of resources and is closely associated with income levels. Inequality, therefore, is more a product of economic development.

What is needed in order to deal with the problems of the poor elderly Chicano and other members of this same age group are strategies to bring about rapid redistribution of income and an early end to inequality in the life chances of minority and majority. It is not clear if existing political and economic institutions are capable of bringing about such changes. Civil Rights legislation to date has dealt primarily with equality of opportunity not with actual equality. Research indicates that Civil Rights legislation is "the product of the general level of income and education and is not directly linked to reducing inequality."[54]

The political goals of the Chicano elderly and their advocates should be in terms of achieving actual equality between the various groups and age cohorts in income, housing, jobs, education and other life chances, but not necessarily in terms of simply eliminating segregation and discrimination. Our inmediate and future goal remains in the application of strategies and styles that deal with the politics of aging and includes litigation, political participation in activities such as voting, and organizational politics.

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[54] Thomas R. Dye. The Politics of Equality. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1971) p. 110.

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THE WELFARE SYSTEM'S IMPACT ON THE CHICANA:

A BENEFICIARY'S PERSPECTIVE

By

Marcela Patricia Estrada
Chicana Welfare Rights
Denver, Colorado

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PREFACE

They walked in the Welfare Office on December 24 and patiently waited in the sterile office for several hours to be called into an interviewing booth.

The eligibility worker faced the couple and with strained efficiency explained to the tall, tired man that in order to establish eligibility, there were approximately a dozen forms to be completed, including a 19-page application form. After noticing the skin color of the applicants, the woman added that they would also need to inform the Welfare Office about their legal residence.

> "Are you employed?" she asked the man.
>
> "Temporarily," he responded. "We have just arrived and can find no place to stay. My wife is expecting and she is tired and needs to rest."
>
> "You have no address?" exclaimed the worker. "But then we can't help you. You must have an address, and furthermore, you must be registered with HRD and all their rules complied with before we can give you any assistance."
>
> "But how can we have an address when there is no housing available and we have no funds?" asked the woman gently.

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"I don't make the regulations," answered the agency employee, therefore I don't have to defend them but I do have to follow them. How soon is your baby due?"

"Very soon now," said the woman with a radiant smile. "It could be today or tomorrow."

The employee looked shocked and said, "Well, I'll refer you to a Service Information Worker which is all I can do for you, but really," now addressing the man, "as the baby's father, you should have made arrangements in advance and provided for your wife!"

"Oh," interrupted the woman, "but he is not the baby's father, his father is the Holy Ghost."

INTRODUCTION

The welfare system should be reexamined. It is necessary to find out what this "monster" or "Octopus", as some people refer to it, is doing for the poor people in this country.

The first thing that comes to my mind is the fact that the system tends to perpetuate itself. Many of the services are programmed to increase the welfare roles, because the system conditions the recipients to depend on its services. It does not take long for the client to believe that he/she can't make it without the social service programs.

Aside from this detrimental effect, the welfare system has other negative results. It has created myths about poor people; e.g., that we are lazy; and it encourages a self-image of worthlessness. Social service programs have also served to break down the "familia" concept.

In this presentation I intend to approach the welfare issue from the point of view of the Chicana. Preparing this material was not easy for me. The whole issue of la Chicana is very emotional to me. So, bear with me as I attempt to share some of these experiences.

There are many problems that affect the Chicana who is forced to seek "ayuda" from the welfare system. She can be overserviced or not serviced at all. Too often she is the victim, especially the non-English speaking Chicana. From the beginning there is misunderstanding based on the difference in concepts: the Chicana does not see the welfare system as a long-term provider. She generally seeks that particular assistance when there is no other, and hopes to leave the welfare roles as the crisis ameliorates. But it often happens that the system will not allow the welfare recipient to accomplish this.

In this presentation I will make reference to various issues and programs that are directly affecting the Chicana.

To some, she has reacted by getting organized in order to defend her rights and voice her opinions. In other instances, it is difficult to surpass the prejudices and obstacles. For instance, the National Welfare Rights Organization speaks for all welfare recipients but never deals with the special needs of la Chicana, in particular those who can not speak English. The Organization continues to "lump" us all together, overlooking the fact that we see welfare as help, and not as a right or privilege, as they advocate. I will talk about the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization and how it is dealing with the Chicana's problems.

I will comment on the sterilization programs being enforced in this area of the country. My main concern in this issue is whether the Chicana has a choice.

The role played by a group of Chicana women in a Work

Incentive Program in east Los Angeles is worth mentioning. This was a great example of determination and strong will to overcome the many obstacles they encountered.

Another issue of interest to us is the supposedly large incidence of child abuse and child neglect among Chicano families in the Denver metropolitan area. I got so emotionally involved with this problem that it wiped me out for eight months. I could not deal with the fact that children and babies were being taken away from their mothers for some questionable reasons, and placed in Anglo foster homes for months. One of the main injustices was that these mothers had no alternative resources once the child was removed from the home.

I will only deal briefly with the Food Stamp Program because I don't believe this country really wants to solve any hunger problems. The Food Stamp Program is not an answer to hunger, it is a big money-making business for the government.

As I prepare myself to go over the past 10 years of my involvement with the Chicana on welfare, I hope each one of you feels free to stop me at any point. The more thought I give to each issue, the more issues I find. If I am not coming through loud and clear, believe me I am trying like hell to make myself understood.

THE WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM

In 1965, I was involved in an automobile accident in east Los Angeles. I recall the circumstances; I was driving on Whittier Boulevard; it was raining lightly, the tires got stuck in the street car tracks and the car got out of control. It spinned until we finally hit a telephone pole. My mother was killed in that accident.

At that time, after an unsuccessful marriage, my two children and myself were living with my parents. My mother was the only person to whom I trusted my children. Now I was confronted with the problem of what to do with them. I was really feeling the aches of being alone. The day care center seemed like the best solution.

Before I go on, let me add that a few days after the accident the police notified me that because I had no automobile insurance, I was to be taken to court. My mother was dead and on top of that, they were making charges!

Pressures continued to mount, the public school and day care center fees were too much to handle. At work, I switched to the graveyard shift. During the day I tried to sleep while the girls were in school. But the strain became too much and I lost my job.

The only recourse I saw was to seek help from welfare. I remember telling the caseworker as I applied, "I only want your help till I find another job." Probably, due to the emotional trauma that I was experiencing, I don't recall if there were any attitudes directed toward me, nor do I recall being upset about having to answer personal questions that are usually asked of welfare recipients. My case was approved within two days, the home visits were made, and my checks began to arrive on time.

My first experience in dealing with the stigma attached to welfare mothers was at Roosevelt High School in East Los Angeles. My eldest daughter was elected by the student body as head cheerleader, but the physical education instructors had been harassing her. "We don't want a welfare child leading our school band," was their statement as I learned later. My daughter was heartbroken, yet she would not repeat what was said to her. I shed many tears because of that incident; I was unable to deal with the problem.

At that time Chicano groups were being formed. I contacted the Mexican-American Education Commission, and they solved the problem for me. My daughter graduated head cheerleader, but I will never forget that statement nor its impact.

In late 1967, the Work Incentive Program came to the East Los Angeles community mandating training for the AFDC-U fathers. Women on AFDC could volunteer. The total enrollment allotted for East Los Angeles was 900 trainee slots. Women filled at least 500 of these slots. The only two programs available for women were nurses aide and clerical training. I volunteered into the clerical training. I volunteered into the clerical training because I was determined to get off welfare.

When I first went to the classroom, I could tell right away that something was wrong. At least half of the women were in tears and the other half were about to begin. I remember identifying myself with them on the spot, after hearing their remarks about not wanting to be on welfare. They too had seen the WIN program as a way to get off welfare. What had them all upset was the fact that most of them had been participating for over four months without receiving the "incentive allowances" that they had been promised. These included child care expenses, transportation, etc. Some were leaving their children unattended during the day while they were in training.

My heart went out for these women. I could not understand why they were not getting any help to solve their problems. By this stage of my life I was very outspoken; "outspoken" is putting it mildly. Being vocal was not a common characteristic among those women then. They approached me first with "Por favor habla por mi." Soon it became "Habla por nosotras," and I finally became the spokeswoman for the entire group. I began to stress everyone's right to get off welfare.

The group decided to adopt the name "La Gente Unida de

WIN." The Spanish-speaking were as many in number as the Anglos. In the entire group, ten if not less, were not bilingual. We began to take our children to the training sites. We went to the welfare district office and demanded the payment of the overdue incentive allowances. It was not long before "La Gente Unida" began to get huge amounts of cash. I had never seen so much money at one time. Can you imagine 900 trainees and their children screaming at the same time?

As the payments were made, we noticed numerous administrative mistakes made by the welfare staff. Some of the trainees were allocated two payments, a cash payment at the welfare office and a check through the mail. During my two years in the program, all those overpayments were given to me and I in turn returned them to Elis P. Murphy, administrator of the Public Social Services for Los Angeles County.

This group of La Gente Unida became one big family. I doubt that I'll ever again see so much "togetherness" among la raza. The responsibilities were shared among all the members. Nobody had to tell anyone else what to do. Whenever a problem would come up, it could be about drugs, alcohol, childrens' care, it was handled by whoever felt more confident in dealing with it. The load was shared, and what is more important, no one ever lacked moral support. When one trainee had a problem, it was considered "our" problem.

We began to look outside of the WIN program. For example, we participated in the Board of Supervisor's meeting when ex-governor Reagan threatened to cut back the Medicaid program. Alicia Escalante, from the Chicana Welfare Rights, would keep us posted regarding any changes in the welfare programs. It was always stressed at these hearings that our main concern was to get off the welfare rolls.

Let me comment on the fact that my aggressive behavior at these meetings was not always unanimously supported. I still recall some of the Chicanas telling me to try to follow the agenda, and not to interrupt and take over the meeting. They wanted me to act like a lady, and I wonder if we would have had the same results if I had listened to them.

A trainee can only participate in the WIN program for a two-year period. By the time my term was about to end, it seemed clear to me that the WIN program was geared to fail. Every time we made a plea for help, Governor Reagan would come up with an "improvement to the program". The first change was, "no more training". The program would now be job-oriented, the key concept was job placement. The question we kept asking ourselves was "What will happen to our people? They can't speak English, much less fill out a job application." The next "improvement" was to discontinue the incentive allowances. This did not keep La Gente from participating. They would sometimes walk to the training site bringing their children with them. The last step taken by the administration was to stop the intake of volunteers into the program. In a final attempt for help, La Gente made a collection in order to send five trainees to Sacramento to see the WIN Administrators and let them know about our problems. They got there but were ignored. By then, the morale was low and many of our people had started to leave the program. Most of the women returned to their homes, and I saw very little of them. A few of us became active in the Chicana Welfare Rights Movement.

I also want to comment on another aspect of the Welfare program. An AFDC recipient can be employed and receiving a supplemental check from welfare. This woman is required, under welfare regulations, to periodically report to the district office for a reevaluation of her case. The welfare office is opened from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., Monday through Friday. This means the woman must take some time off from her job. In order to benefit from the supplemental check, she must risk her job. How much concern does the caseworker have for the client's employment situation, or is it done on purpose, so that the recipient can't leave the welfare rolls. Also, the AFDC mother is required to mail in to the caseworker weekly or monthly payroll check stubs, a requirement that is not always easy to meet. From all these experiences I was convinced of something: the welfare recipient had to fight the welfare system in order to get off the welfare rolls.

CHICANA WELFARE RIGHTS

Alicia Escalante was an example of the determination of one Chicana fighting the welfare monster. Alicia organized and led the first Welfare Rights Movement for Chicanas.

Chicana Welfare Rights is a separate and distinct body from the National Welfare Rights Organization. The Chicanas broke away and formed their own group because they felt the National Organization's policies were negatively affecting the Chicana socially, culturally and economically. The problems of the Spanish-speaking recipient are entirely different and more complicated that the problems of the English-speaking recipient. To make things worse, some districts have little or no bilingual staff, or use translated forms at their own discretion, causing denial of assistance and services to the Latinas. The Spanish-speaking women are signing forms they can't understand, urged to do so by non-Spanish-speaking staff. When the Chicana can't communicate with the employees at the welfare district offices, they are told to go back home and bring someone that will serve as an interpreter. This should be provided by the Public Assistance Agency which exists to render those services to the public.

The National Welfare Rights Organization provides welfare recipients with information such as "Your Rights in the WIN-TALMADGE Program." WIN-TALMADGE and WIN-II are different names for the same thing. It is the end result of the Work Incentive Program, a once training-oriented program, now primarily a work-oriented program, covering only people that receive AFDC. In 1971, Senator Herman Talmadge from Georgia presented an amendment to the Social Security Act making registration to the WIN-II program a necessary condition for eligibility to the welfare program. This meant that (a) mothers with children over the age of six, (b) youths 16 years of age and not in approved training, and (c) unemployed fathers, all had to register for the WIN-II program.

Chicana Welfare Rights is one of the most active groups opposed to WIN-TALMADGE. Mrs. Alicia Escalante, the organization's Chairwoman, opposes the law because it was written from a white culture perspective and does not take into account the cultural uniqueness of la Chicana. She feels that the law denies women the right to choose between working outside the home or staying home to take care of the children. It denies children the right to have their mothers at home. Opponents of the law fear it will attack the cultural foundation of la Chicana. Most Chicanas feel that their place is at home. Having to take a job is opposed to their beliefs and accepted life-style, threatening the traditional concepts as to the functions and roles of each family member. Further, Alicia points out the danger of having welfare recipients and already employed people pitted against each other. An employed person who is laid off may face the possibility of being replaced by the welfare recipient.

Ana Nieto Gomez, from the Chicano Studies Faculty at California State, wrote: "It should be emphasized that the welfare mother is mandated to leave her children at a child care center if there is one available. If she rejects the child care center because of its location, its facilities, its program or its personnel, she shall be de-registered, making her ineligible for welfare. Thus, if the center is not bilingual, bicultural and totally negates the family life style, the Chicana on welfare has no right to accept or reject programs concerning the welfare and education of her children."

The following are two case examples related to the first part of this presentation:

CLIENT: ANNA
AGE : 32
FIRST GENERATION
AFDC
MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED
CHILDREN: 4
HUSBAND: INSTITUTIONALIZED

1957

- Mother exhausts all resources, including family members, before applying for help. Her relatives considered it a disgrace that she would ask for welfare assistance.

- The case worker suggests that she seek employment outside the home. The woman wants to take care of her children.

- The case worker is upset because the woman brought her four children to the welfare office.

- The woman is harassed with questions on her sexual history. The case worker wants to know if all children were fathered by the same man.

- The woman is sent home without any kind of assistance.

- She has to wait three days for her case to be approved. She is never told how much she can expect to receive per child. She is ashamed to ask questions.

- Several people are assigned to her case. The woman never finds out what role each of the service workers plays.

CLIENT: VICKIE
AGE : 17
SECOND GENERATION
AFDC
MARITAL STATUS: SINGLE
CHILDREN: 1

1973

- She applies for welfare in Cudahy, California. The area is a poor white community.

- Throughout the application process the social worker was very helpful and cooperative. She provided the woman with food stamps until the case would be approved.

- Social worker dropped off by the recipient's house on her way home from work to deliver the first welfare check.

- The case worker assures the woman that she can call her anytime....

- Chicana Welfare Rights Organization is active in this community.

STERILIZATION

In Los Angeles our women have been sterilized without their knowledge, regardless of the fact that there are safeguards in the laws to prevent this from happening.

Throughout my years of participation in the welfare rights activities, I have been able to observe the many adjustments that Chicanas have had to impose on themselves. They are still attempting to adjust to the permissive society in which they live and often these accommodations are conflicting with their values. One example is the issue of birth control and abortions.

In our cultural background there was no place for birth control as it is viewed here. Today, a great many of our women are practicing some sort of birth control, but I assure you that we are still experiencing some difficulties with that.

Once a child is conceived, the idea of abortion is the farthest thing from our minds regardless of the economic conditions of the family. If abortion is decided upon, the Chicana has a great deal of afterthoughts on the subject.

This system's programs do not take into consideration our values and attitudes. In general, the welfare mother is often the victim of punitive laws and regulations. By the amount of "welfare" that the programs allow for each child, we can conclude that the system would like to see us all sterilized.

Coerced Sterilization Cases

Ms. A

Ms. A is 28 years old, bilingual, and has two girls and one boy. While in the delivery room, and under the effects of some anesthesia, the physician tried to talk her into giving her consent for sterilization. Ms. A stated, "If it is a boy, go ahead, if it is a girl, don't." She was then given general anesthesia. After her delivery, the woman asked the doctor if she had been sterilized. The doctor answered affirmatively. She argued that she had consented only if it was a boy. There was no signed consent form; the woman was not on welfare.

Ms. B

This woman is 28 years old, with five children. She can't read or speak English. While she was under the effects of the anesthesia, a doctor approached her on the subject of sterilization. While she was in labor the doctor insisted that she already had too many children and that the government would have to provide for them. Under the doctor's pressure, she scribbled her name on the consent form and was sterilized. This woman was not on welfare.

Ms. C

Ms. C is 34 years old, with three children, and can only speak Spanish. The baby's father signed a consent form under the impression that he was consenting only for a Caesarian Section operation. The woman recalls being asked about a tubal ligation while she was in labor, but did not consent. She did not find out that she had been sterilized until she had the six weeks' postpartum check-up. Ms. C's child was stillborn, but she was not informed of that until seven days after delivery.

Ms. D

This woman is 40 years old, with one child, and speaks only Spanish. Ms. D was told during labor that she would die unless she had a tubal ligation. She strongly refused to be sterilized. Then the doctor approached her husband and told him that his wife's life was in danger unless she underwent sterilization. The doctor also told the man that a simple surgical procedure would reverse the sterilization. The husband then signed the consent. A nurse went to Ms. D, threw the papers at her, and told the patient that her husband did not want any more children.

These examples speak for themselves.

The following is an ad that appeared in November issue of the Reader's Digest.

> **Is Sterilization for You?**
>
> If you're married, no doubt you've considered it. Here are facts for men and for women. Learn why vasectomies and tubal ligations have become the leading form of birth control worldwide, in
>
> **November Reader's Digest**

"A woman's choice," you say? Not really. When do we ever have a choice? La Mexicana, the poor Chicana, the Chicana on welfare, the underemployed... We are absorbed into the Women's Rights Movement, but what choice do we have even then? We become the victims.

It is clear that there is a need for material printed in Spanish, so that our people will be well informed. Interestingly enough, enclosed with the AFDC grant periodical is a pamphlet providing abortion and family planning information in Spanish.

Ralph Nader charged that 32 of the nation's 42 largest teaching hospitals that do nontherapeutic sterilizations are violating Federal rules that are supposed to protect the patient. For instance, they are failing to observe the 72-hour waiting period, they are not telling patients that the welfare benefits won't be withheld if they don't consent to sterilization, and they are not providing patients with adequate consent information.

Physicians at these hospitals were asked whether they felt welfare patients with illegitimate children should have a choice as to what method of contraception they preferred. Seventy-seven percent of the doctors answered that patients on welfare should have compulsory sterilization or withhold from them all public assistance for additional children. Ninety-nine percent of the obstetricians favored compulsory sterilization and/or withholding child support.

CHILD ABUSE

Jessy Corona and I came to Denver to organize the Chicana Welfare Rights. Our main asset was the experience we had acquired on the Chicana on welfare while we had lived in East Los Angeles. The main issue there had been the Talmadge "work or no welfare" law. To our surprise, that was not an issue in Denver yet. The big problem here was the large incidence of child abuse cases imputed to Chicanas. That came as a big shock to us, since child abuse had never been an issue among Chicanos.

The problem started in 1974 when two families were seeking help from the Social Service Agency. They got no response from the agency. A short while later, two children from the above-mentioned families were killed, one allegedly by one of the parents and the other by the mother's boyfriend. The news media went hard on the Service Agency, but also disclosed to the public the fact that one was a Chicano family and the other was a Black family.

The Chicana became the target and the long legal process began. The Chicanito children were taken from their homes and placed in Anglo foster homes. The families were labeled as the abusers by the so-called experts in the child abuse field. But they also admitted they knew very little about the Chicano life style.

Then I began to ask myself, "What is the Chicano life style?" We tried to bring out the concept of la familia as we knew it, by involving members of the immediate and extended family in the suspected child abuse cases. But as time went on we discovered that there was little concern on the part of these relatives as to the placement of children in foster homes. We even dealt with mothers who were not affected by the fact that their children were being taken away temporarily. The negative influence of this society on the Chicana woman was a heartbreaking experience for me. The most recent case was a 22-year-old Chicanita who came to me asking for help.

She had two children, a boy and a girl. She said, "Where can I take these kids to get them off my back? I am too young to be tied down."

I will make reference to nine different cases that are representative of the attitudes prevailing in Denver.

CASE 1

CLIENT: ROSA
AGE : 28
MARITAL STATUS: SEPARATED
CHILDREN: 6 GIRLS (BETWEEN 6 AND 15 YEARS)
2 BOYS (BETWEEN 2 AND 3 YEARS)

This woman could not speak English. She took her two-year-old boy to Denver General Hospital to be treated for a fractured skull. There were witnesses to explain that the child had fallen down the stairway. A Spanish-speaking Anglo social worker was assigned to the case. She tried to convince the mother to voluntarily turn the child's custody over to the Welfare Agency on the basis that she already had too many children. The woman refused to sign the papers. The Agency accused the mother of neglect and the child was taken away from her. He was returned eight months later; the woman had been sick all this time because of the child's absence.

CASE 2

CLIENT: REBECCA

AGE : 16
MARITAL STATUS: SINGLE
AFDC RECIPIENT
CHILDREN: ONE 6-MONTH-OLD BOY

Rebecca lived with a guardian aunt. Neither could speak English. The welfare officials felt she should give up her child because of her age, and the fact that she was in school. In spite of the frequent visits of the homemakers and the social workers, the baby became ill. Based on these facts and a report from Denver General Hospital, the welfare office accused the mother of neglect. Rebecca wanted to keep the child, but her family pressured her to terminate her rights. Mostly against her will, the child was adopted by the aunt.

CASE 3

CLIENT: VIRGINIA
AGE : 35
MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED
AFDC RECIPIENT
CHILDREN: 3 GIRLS, 4 BOYS, AGES: 7 MONTHS TO 10 YEARS

Two of the children had congenital defects. Three of them were still in diapers. The woman took one of them to the County Hospital for a diaper rash. After this was taken care of, the welfare staff decided to keep the child a little longer to determine what should be done for "the best interest of the child." This whole situation caused great distress to the mother. The child was kept away from the home for three months. There was a three-day trial. The child was returned to his mother.

CASE 4

CLIENT: LUCY
AGE : 23
MARITAL STATUS: SEPARATED
AFDC RECIPIENT
CHILDREN: 1 BOY, 4 YEARS OLD
2 GIRLS, 5 AND 7 YEARS OLD

The woman had been passing the boy around among relatives. While she was in California, her relatives decided that they could not take care of the child and turned him over to the Welfare Department. When the woman returned from California, she picked him up, but shortly afterwards, gave him back to the welfare people. She complained that sometimes she could not deal with more than two children. She has the right to visit the child, but she prefers not to do it.

CASE 5

CLIENT: AN ANGLO WOMAN
AGE : 28
MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED
NOT ON WELFARE
CHILDREN: 1 GIRL, 9 YEARS OLD
2 BOYS, 4 AND 7 YEARS OLD

The children were left alone for a weekend. The woman said she left them with a babysitter. The children's father was hospitalized at the V.A. Hospital. The Welfare Department was willing to return the children to their mother as soon as she was back. But she asked the agency for extra time, so that she could "get organized," find an apartment and have her husband back from the hospital. Two months later, the woman and her husband appeared at the court hearings and still requested more time before getting the children back. All the children remained in welfare custody.

CASE 6

CLIENT: DOLORES
AGE : 38
MARITAL STATUS: DIVORCED
CHILDREN: 2 BOYS AND 1 GIRL

Dolores held a job. She initially contacted the Welfare Office about a disciplinary problem with her 14-year old son. A social worker was assigned to see and counsel the boy on a weekly basis. During the third visit, the social worker brought application papers for the mother to sign that would turn the young boy over to a home for boys. The woman refused to give her signature and the case worker said she would get a court order to send the boy away. The boy's mother saw no reason for sending the boy away; he had no record, did not drink or smoke. His only problem was getting along with his sister and mother. While the family awaited a court action, they were counseled by a Chicano social worker at the local mental health clinic.

CASE 7

CLIENT: MARIA
AGE : 24
MARITAL STATUS: SINGLE
AFDC RECIPIENT
CHILDREN: ONE 3-YEAR-OLD BOY

This woman took her child to Denver General Hospital to be treated for a broken arm. The boy had fallen in the bathtub. The child was taken under welfare custody, and later was returned to his mother. A supervisor was assigned to the case. The judge could not understand why we wanted this supervision to end. He saw it as a great opportunity for the mother to have a concerned and caring "friend" around. The supervision continued.

CASE 8

CLIENT: LYDIA
AGE : 26
MARITAL STATUS: SINGLE
AFDC RECIPIENT
CHILDREN: ONE 9-YEAR-OLD BOY
ONE 7-YEAR-OLD GIRL

The family had been involved with welfare for about a year. The Headstart teacher reported that the children had arrived at school with bruises and looking neglected. The case workers were concerned about the family being involved with paint and glue sniffing. There was no substantial evidence to prove this. They also believed the children were not ready for the Headstart Program. The woman felt intimidated by the welfare people and refused to open her door to them. The court then assigned a homemaker, in addition to welfare supervision, for a period of six months. The family had no choice but to accept the court's decision.

CASE 9

The last example is about a woman that took her eight-month-old child to the hospital to be treated for a fractured skull. Her explanation of the accident was considered "suspicious" by the Colorado General Staff, and they decided to keep the child.

This case is a classic example of the type of problem that the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization has been trying to fight. Racism is inherent in the system, as this case illustrates from beginning to end. The hospital staff did not believe the woman's explanation of what had happened. The decision to take the child away from the mother was made without exploring other feasible alternatives. Had a middle class white family been involved, I am sure other arrangements would have been explored. Even after bringing a Chicana social worker into the case, minimal consideration was given to her assessment of the situation. They probably felt she should not be trusted since she was "one of them."

I would not hesitate to reach the following conclusions:

(1) In Denver there is a rampant hysteria about child abuse.

(2) To make it appear to the public that the Welfare Department is doing its part, it directs its attack on the Chicana mother on welfare, hoping that she will not have the resources to fight back.

(3) The services offered to Chicanas are a farce and illustrate a superficial attempt at dealing with the problem.

(4) Even when services are rendered, they are pervaded with cultural biases of Anglo social workers' and doctors' standards. This makes the services conflicting for the Chicano family.

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

If this country would really want to solve the hunger problem it would start by eliminating the food stamp program entirely. The big main flaw is the bureaucratic process in which this program is conducted. Abuses are committed in all phases of the program: food stamp transactions, at the food stamp centers and even in some armored trucks and banks. But in spite of this, Food Stamp Program Administrators wave flags trying to convince the general public about what a great job the program does for the poor in this country. The reality is that they need this propaganda of accomplishments in order to justify their positions for the upcoming refunding of their program. If they did their job and solved the hunger problem among the poor people, then these Administrators would be out of a job.

The Food Stamp Program has popularized the notion that welfare recipients are untrustworthy and incapable of managing their money. It also has a built-in dehumanizing effect that no human being should be subjected to:

(1) It promotes attitudes reflecting inadequacies on the recipient's part.

(2) It encourages a "monopoly game."

(3) The fact that toilet paper, soap and other hygienic articles cannot be purchased with coupons emphasizes the stigma attached to the poor of being dirty.

The above are but a few reasons why I would not participate in the program. As years go by and more Americans benefit from the program, the general public attitude regarding the program improves, except for the attitudes about the Spanish-speaking recipients. Nuestra gente are the overlooked, those underemployed and/or unemployed. The Food Stamp Program does not print eligibility requirements in Spanish.

Eliminate the bandaid-over-cancer approach. Big brother is in control.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is time to quit playing games with poor people's lives and to stop all the contradictions within the welfare system. The best welfare reform would be to help the poor people get off the welfare rolls. There is no need for additional programs. Just a few of the programs in existence need to be improved, and the rest eliminated.

Before any welfare reform can be put into effect, the poor people's voice has to be heard. This issue of welfare reform is being kicked around as is the guaranteed income issue. The main flaw is that again, someone is deciding for poor people. This should be an issue to be discussed at length by the multitude of welfare recipients from all the programs. They should have the opportunity to express their concerns and to suggest alternatives for a better operation of the programs. The help that is needed from the professionals is how to get the recipient's ideas and recommendations to those in control. What has commonly happened is that the professional people decide what it is that we need, merely using poor people so that it appears from the outside as if the poor people had played a part in the decision-making process. Half the time the poor people and the professionals never discuss their particular points of view. The "team work" approach exists only in appearance.

The general public should also be informed on how the present programs are operating. Very few people, aside from the actual beneficiaries, know how much financial assistance is allocated to each recipient. The media should inform the public of the actual benefits of a program. My personal belief is that very few people in Colorado know that the breakdown for the AFDC benefits is as follows:

Adult			Child
food	$28.00		$28.00
clothing	$21.00		$11.00
personal needs	$53.00	(includes household supplies	$33.00
	$102.00		$72.00

$102.00
72.00
TOTAL $174.00
(two people)

At the legislative level, the same problem exists. Countless bills are legislated which affect the lives of millions of poor people. Yet, how familiar are the legislators with the living conditions in a poor setting, and how familiar are the poor with the legislative process?

Women all over the country must recognize that each one of them is a potential welfare recipient and take a more active role in the improvement of the Octopus. Some will escape AFDC but there is always OASI and SSI, AND and AB waiting, if not for you, then for your daughters!

AN ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION RATES OF PERSONS OF HISPANIC HERITAGE IN WELFARE PROGRAMS

By

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present a statistical analysis of Hispanics on Welfare.* Statistics play a vital role in program planning, monitoring and evaluation. However, because there is not a uniform Federal policy with respect to the collection, analysis and publication of racial and ethnic data, it becomes extremely difficult to evaluate the extent to which various Federal programs are reaching Hispanic language minority persons eligible to benefit from particular Federal programs. Such is the context in which the paper is presented.

Many of the Federal agencies administering public assistance programs do not collect ethnic data. Many of those that do, only recently started their collection and often admit they still have many cobwebs in their ethnic data collection program. Furthermore, much of the Federal assistance data that is available on Hispanics is not broken down by the different Hispanic heritage groups; i.e., Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc. One of the major conclusions of this report is that because of the limited and often times clear unreliability of

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*For purposes of this paper, the term Hispanics is defined to include persons of Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican, Central and South American, and other Spanish origin groups. The term is also used interchangeably with other identifiers utilized by Federal data collecting agencies in their references to these groups.

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data available, an accurate statistical portrayal of Hispanics on welfare will continue to be difficult to accomplish. Although many of the Federal agencies have the resources and administrative authority to collect ethnic data, it seems there is not much interest or commitment to do so. For the most part, this observation remains true today in spite of the fact that the 94th Congress passed Public Law 94-311. This law is designed to correct the inadequacy of current statistics on Americans of Hispanic heritage.

SOURCE OF DATA

Because the U.S. Bureau of the Census does not collect data on the national target population of Federal assistance programs, the data had to be retrieved directly from the various Federal agencies administering public assistance programs; e.g. the National Center for Social Statistics of HEW and the Food and Nutrition service of USDA and HUD.

RELIABILITY OF THE DATA

The quality and quantity of most of the data collected by the Federal agencies administering public assistance programs is of much concern to many national Hispanic leaders and organizations.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights amply documented this concern in its 1973 report entitled, To Know or Not to Know: Collection and Use of Racial and Ethnic Data in Federal Assistance Programs.[1] This study was conducted because of the Commission's concern over the paucity of racial and ethnic data in its efforts to determine whether program benefits were reaching minority groups on an equitable basis.

Six Federal agencies administering domestic assistance programs were studied: the Departments of Agriculture (USDA), Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Labor (DOL), Transportation (DOT), and the Veterans Administration (VA). These agencies, according to the Commission, were selected because they are responsible for some of the largest programs of Federal domestic assistance, because they face a wide variety of technical data collection problems, and because they exhibit varying degrees of commitment to the collection and use of racial and ethnic data.

The findings and conclusions of the Commission's report are appendicized to this paper (Appendix 1). However, some of these findings and conclusions deserve to be highlighted. For instance, the Commission found that:

- Federal officials are often resistant to the collection and use of racial and ethnic data because they consider such collection illegal, subject to misuse, or an invasion of privacy, and insufficient information has been provided to contradict those beliefs.

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[1] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, To Know or Not To Know: Collection and use of Racial and Ethnic Data in Federal Assistance Programs, U.S. Government Printing Office, February, 1973.

- The collection of racial and ethnic data to promote equitable distribution of Federal assistance is consistent with the Constitution and with Federal law and where it is necessary to eliminate discrimination it may be mandated. It has been endorsed by private organizations, Federal agencies and most of the larger minority group organizations.
- Where racial and ethnic data are collected, they are often collected for an insuficient number of racial and ethnic groups as, for example, black, white, and other.
- Agencies have not generally measured the extent to which their programs reach various racial and ethnic groups, and consequently have made only limited efforts to correct any deficiencies in the allocation of resources.
- Although program impact may vary according to racial and ethnic group, agencies have not generally measured these differences in evaluating program performance.
- Federal agencies have required the collection and use of racial and ethnic data. Where such requirements have been made, sufficient data are generally not collected for analysis of the extent of nondiscrimination in Federal programs.
- Almost no data is available on the race or ethnic origin of persons eligible to benefit from particular Federal programs.[2]

These findings by the Commission clearly point out the problems one confronts in attempting to determine the participation rates of Hispanics in the sundry welfare programs.

Based on these findings, some of the Commission's recommendations were that:

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-40.

- The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) should exercise strong leadership in the development and enforcement of a policy for the collection and use of racial and ethnic data.

- An adequate racial and ethnic data collection system should require that program managers be responsible for knowing the number of potential beneficiaries, the number of applicants, and the number of beneficiaries of their programs by race and ethnic origin.

- As a minimum, the categories of American Indian, Asian Americans, Blacks, Spanish Descent and other should be required for use in programs of assistance and in general purpose data collection.

- Standards for racial and ethnic data collection should be established to insure that Federal agencies are informing themselves of the extent to which their programs reach minority beneficiaries on an equitable basis.[3]

It is interesting to note that the Commission does not have the authority to enforce it's recommendations or to follow-up to insure Federal agencies have adopted the recommendations presented in its report. It merely submits its reports to Congress, the agencies studied, and other interested parties for their consideration and action or inaction.

DEFINING WELFARE PROGRAMS

In attempting to present an analysis of Hispanics on welfare, the first question that needed to be answered was, "What programs constitute welfare programs?"

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[3] Ibid., pp. 87-90.

According to Gilbert Y. Steiner, author of the book entitled, The State of Welfare, public subsidies to the poor have two principle styles or techniques, one crude, one subtle.[4] The crude technique limits benefits to those who can establish need through disclosure of their income and resources to an administrative official, and also explicitly pinpoints the beneficiaries. The subtle techniques spread benefits across a broad spectrum of the population, subsidizing many without need as well as those in need. Both crude and subtle techniques are compatible with payments either in cash or in kind.

According to Mr. Steiner, crude relief programs include cash assistance for the needy aged, for families with dependent children, for the blind and the disabled; medical services for the low income population; food stamps, low rent public housing and private housing on which rent supplements are paid; and lunches for children.

The leading example of the subtle type of program is social security which is a compulsory, contributory social insurance program. This program provides cash assistance to the poor and to people who are not poor and would not be poor even without these benefits.

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[4] Steiner, Gilbert Y., The State of Welfare, The Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., January 1971, pp. 2-4.

Another definition of "welfare programs" can be extracted from John L. Palmer and Joseph J. Minarik in their discussion of "Income Security Policy." In chapter 12 of the book entitled, Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years, the authors provide a listing of programs defined as income security transfer programs.[5]

An income security policy is that Federal policy which deals with the distribution of national income among individuals and households. According to the writers, the primary objectives of income security policy are: (1) preventing precipitous losses in economic well-being because of largely involuntary disruptions in earnings; (2) facilitating financial access to goods or services like health care that society agrees are indispensable; (3) alleviating poverty; and (4) narrowing income differentials. Although these policies are distinct, they are at the same time interrelated; policies designed to further one, are very likely to promote others.

The authors identify those major transfer programs financed with federal funds and serving income security purposes. These programs are reflected in Table 1 and have constituted the fastest growing share of the federal budget over the past 17 years, rising from 24 percent in 1960 to an estimated 42 percent in 1977.

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[5] Palmer, John L. and Minarik, Joseph J., "Income Security Policy." in Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years, edited by Henry Owen and Charles L. Schultzer, The Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., pp. 505-509.

The cash programs identified in Table 1 are of two types: means-tested programs designed to put a floor under the income of recipients, thus alleviating or eliminating their income poverty; and nonmeans-tested ones that generally have eligibility criteria related to employment history and current status, and are intended to replace some of the disrupted flow of earnings for people at all levels. The noncash, or in-kind programs support three types of consumption, food, housing, and health care and are predominantly means tested. Many of these have partial state and local financing.

According to Palmer and Minarik, the means-tested programs are often referred to as welfare programs (though this term is often applied only to the cash programs) and most of the nonmeans-tested ones are identified as social insurance programs.

Given the two definitions of welfare discussed thus far, "Welfare Programs," according to this author's interpretation and for purposes of this paper, include the following:

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)
Medical Assistance Program (Medicaid)
The Food Stamp Program
Child Nutrition Programs
National School Lunch Program
Special Milk Program for Children
Housing Assistance
Rent Supplements-Rental Housing for Lower Income Families
Public Housing-Leased

This paper will present available data on the above programs. The data presented is not exhaustive nor does the paper attempt to discuss in great detail, the casual relationships between the participation rates of Hispanic heritage minority groups and their social and economic status in the society. However, before presenting the "welfare" data, it may be useful to briefly review a number of the social and economic characteristics of the Hispanic community (see Table 1).

TABLE I

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR INCOME SECURITY TRANSFER PROGRAMS

Fiscal Years 1960 and 1977

Billions of Dollars

Programs	1960	1977
Cash programs	22.0	140.9
Means-tested	2.1	12.3
Aid to families with dependent children (a)	0.7	6.3
Supplemental security income (b)	1.4	6.0
Nonmeans-tested	19.9	128.6
Old age, survivors, and disability insurance (b,c)	12.9	87.2
Federal civil service retirement (b)	0.9	10.1
Veterans compensation pensions (b,d)	3.4	8.4
Unemployment compensation (a)	2.7	18.4
Coal miners' "black lung" benefits (b)	...	1.2
Public service employment (e)	...	3.3
In-kind programs	0.6	42.1
Means-tested	0.6	21.6
Food stamps (e)	0.1(f)	6.0
Medicaid (a)	0.2(g)	9.4
Child nutrition (e)	0.2(h)	3.1
Housing assistance (e)	0.1	3.1
Nonmeans-tested	...	20.5
Medicare	...	20.5
Total	22.6	183.0

Source: Palmer, John L. and Minarik, Joseph J., "Income Security Policy", in *Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years*, the Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 508.

a. State and local administration and cost sharing. The Federal financial share in Medicaid and AFDC is about 55 percent of the total.
b. Full federal financing and administration, though several states supplement the federal SSI benefits with their own funds.
c. Includes railroad retirement.
d. Includes veterans' insurance programs. A small portion of this is means-tested.
e. State and local administration, full federal financing.
f. Represents the removal of surplus commodities, the precursor of the food stamp program.
g. Medical vendor payments.
h. Includes both the special milk program and the school lunch program.

SELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HISPANIC ANCESTRY POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

The Hispanic American population represents the second largest identifiable minority in the United States. Using various statistical references, many national Hispanic Organizations; e.g. The National Council of La Raza (NCLR), The Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), American G.I. Forum, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), IMAGE, (a national organization concerned with Federal employment of Hispanics) have estimated the nation's Hispanic population to number over 15 million, exlusive of the residents of Puerto Rico and excluding other persons of Hispanic heritage whose legal status is in question. This estimate is in direct contrast to the 11.2 million figure released by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for March 1975. If we assume that the more than 15 million persons of Hispanic heritage figure is closer to the actual number of persons of Spanish origin in the U.S., then we again run into problems of presenting a true statistical profile of the Spanish language minority community.

The undernumeration of what the U.S. Bureau of the Census identifies as "persons of Spanish origin" continues to be a deep concern. As a result of this concern, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported in April 1974 that there was evidence of a "significant undercount" citing the Bureaus's own estimate of the 1970 undercount of Blacks by 7.7 percent. In 1973, The National Urban League concluded that the undercount rates for the Spanish origin population was probably larger than those for Blacks.[6]

Nevertheless, given these limitations, the Bureau of the Census still provides the best and most comprehensive data available and, therefore, this paper will rely primarily on the Bureau's reports.[7]

In general, the Spanish origin population is a "young" population with a "median age" in March 1975 of 20.7 years old compared to 28.6 years old for the overall population. It is a bilingual population and is distributed among all states of the union. Most persons of Spanish origin are employed in blue collar jobs. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of DOL, in June 1975 they had the second highest unemployment rate (13 percent) next to the Black population (15 percent). The National health status of the Spanish origin population is virtually unknown due to the lack of mortality, morbidity and other health statistics in general. However, it is assumed that the health status of the Hispanic heritage population is considerably below that of the general population.

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[6] U.S.Commission on Civil Rights, Counting the Forgotten: The 1970 Census Count of Persons of Spanish Speaking background in the United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, April 1974, pp.44-48.

[7] Mainly, U.S.Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, p.20 Series, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1971-1975" U.S.Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Size

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census about one of every twenty persons in the United States was of Spanish origin in March 1975. More specifically, about 11.2 million persons were of Spanish origin and the majority, 6.7 million were of Mexican origin. Persons of Puerto Rican origin included about 1.7 million; persons of Cuban origin about 740,000, Central or South American origin, about 1.4 million persons; and there were about 1.4 million persons of other Spanish origin in 1975.

Residence

The Chicano population, as is true with other Spanish origin groups, is an urban community. In March 1975 there were 2.5 million families of Spanish origin in the U.S.; only about one out of every six of these families lived in a nonmetropolitan area. Of the 1.5 million families of Mexican origin in the U.S. about 1.1 million (76.2 percent) lived in metropolitan areas.

Marital Status

In March 1975, there were 4.4 million (59.7 percent) married persons and 2.3 million (36.3 percent) single persons of Spanish origin 14 years old and over (Table 2).

There were about 4.2 million persons of Mexican origin 14 years old and over in 1975 (2,115 million males and 2,133 million females). There were more single Mexican origin males (36.2) than females (27.9). About 60.1 percent of Mexican origin males reported themselves married as compared to 61.1 percent of all females 14 years old and over.

The fact that mortality is usually higher for men than women helps explain the higher proportion of widowed women of Mexican origin than widower men of Mexican origin in 1975; about one of every sixteen women of Mexican origin 14 years old and over (6.3 percent) was reported widowed compared to about one of every seventy seven men of Mexican origin (1.3 percent).

In March 1975, about twice as many women as men of Mexican origin were reported divorced, 4.6 percent and 2.4 percent respectively. By contrast in March 1972, 23.2 percent of the females reported themselves as divorced as compared to only 1.5 percent of all Mexican origin males 14 years and over (see Table 2).

If this is true, then females of Mexican origin are four times less likely to divorce today than four years ago.

Family

In March 1974 about 2.7 million households were headed by a Spanish origin person and out of these, 69 percent were husband and wife households (see Table 3)

TABLE 2

MARITAL STATUS OF PERSONS OF SPANISH ORIGIN 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY TYPE OF SPANISH ORIGIN AND SEX FOR U.S.:1972 & 1975

(Numbers in Thousands)

MARITAL STATUS by YEAR	SPANISH ORIGIN			
	TOTAL		MEXICAN	
1975	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total persons 14 yrs. old and over...	3,520	3,744	2,115	2,133
Percent	100.	100.	100.	100.
Single	36.3	27.1	36.2	27.9
Married	59.7	60.8	60.1	60.1
Widowed	1.2	6.8	1.3	6.3
Divorced	2.8	5.3	2.4	4.6
1972				
Total persons 14 yrs. old and over...	2,751	3,014	1,567	1,604
Widowed	1.3	26.2	1.7	20.1
Divorced	1.4	21.6	1.5	23.2

Source: U.S.Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports,"Persons of Spanish Origin," p.20. April 1973, and p.20, No.290, February 1976.

TABLE 3

PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD WITH HEAD OF SPANISH AND MEXICAN ORIGIN BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD FOR THE U.S.

March 1974

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD	SPANISH ORIGIN	MEXICAN ORIGIN
All Households (Thousands)	2,722	1,516
Percent	100.0	100.0
Primary Families	86.6	89.3
Husband-Wife	68.8	73.5
Other Male Head	2.8	2.9
Female Head	15.0	12.9
Primary Individuals	13.4	10.7
Male	7.3	6.3
Female	6.1	4.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, p. 20, No. 280, April 1975.

According to Table 4, U.S. Bureau of the Census data on female family heads reveals that between 1970 and 1974, the percent of Spanish origin female heads as compared to all families remained at a relatively constant level of about 17 percent. For Blacks this percentage increased from 28.3 percent in 1970 to 34.6 percent in 1973, but dropped to 34.0 percent in March 1974.

The 1974 data on women of Mexican origin showed that 14.4 percent of all Mexican origin families were headed by Mexican origin women. It is interesting to note that 54 percent of the families headed by Mexican origin women had incomes below the poverty level (see Table 4).

Income

While in 1974 the median family income of White families was $13,356, the median family income of Spanish origin families was $9,559 for the same year. Families of Cuban, Central or South American as well as other Spanish origin had the highest median family income of the Spanish groups, Their median family income for 1974 was $11,410. The group that had the lowest median family income were Puerto Rican families. They had a median family income of $7,629 followed by families of Mexican origin with a median family income of $9,498 (see Table 5).

TABLE 4

FEMALE FAMILY HEADS AS A PROPORTION OF ALL FAMILIES BY RACE, SPANISH ORIGIN AND TYPE OF SPANISH ORIGIN: 1970 TO 1974

(Numbers in Thousands)

TYPE OF FAMILY	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Families with a head of Spanish Origin	1,956	1,954	2,057	2,312	2,365
Families with female heads	331	329	355	386	411
Percent of all families with Black or White female heads	16.9	16.8	17.3	16.7	17.4
Black	28.3	30.6	31.8	34.6	34.0
White	9.1	9.4	9.4	9.6	9.0
Percent of all families with a Spanish Origin female head by type of Spanish Origin					
Mexican Origin					14.4
Puerto Rican					33.3
"Other" Spanish Origin (1)					14.0

(1) Includes Cuban, Central or South American and "Other" Spanish Origin.

Source: U.S.Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, p.20, No.280, April 1975; p.20, No.50, July 1974; and p.20 No.54, July 1975.

TABLE 5

FAMILY INCOME IN 1974 OF FAMILIES WITH HEAD OF SPANISH ORIGIN BY TYPE OF ORIGIN, ALSO OF FAMILIES OF WHITE AND BLACK RACE: MARCH 1974

(Numbers in Thousands)

TYPE OF SPANISH ORIGIN OF FAMILY HEAD & RACE	Median Family Income	Percent With Family Income below $4,000	Percent with Income of $15,000 or more
Total, Spanish Origin	9,559	15	23
Mexican	9,498	15	20
Puerto Rican	7,629	19	16
Other Spanish (1)	11,410	12	34
White	13,356	7	42
Black	7,808	23	19

(1) Includes Cuban, Central or South American and other Spanish.

Source: U.S.Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, p.20, No.283, August 1975 (Adv. Report); p.20, No.54, July 1975.

Black families had a slightly higher family income ($7,808) than the families of Puerto Rican origin ($7,629).

In 1974, 42 percent of all White families in the U.S. had family incomes of $15,000 and over, while only 23 percent of Spanish origin families made incomes that classified in this category. Few Mexican origin families (20 percent) and Puerto Rican origin families (16 percent) made incomes of $15,000 and over for 1974.

The overall median income differential in 1974 as measured by the median income ratio, between Spanish origin and White families was 0.72 just as it was back in 1970. No improvement occurred in the past five years. The overall median income differential of the Puerto Rican and Black families has actually widened since 1970 from 0.59 to 0.57 for the Puerto Rican families and 0.61 to 0.58 for the Black families.

Poverty

In 1974, approximately 23.2 percent of persons of Spanish origin had incomes below the poverty level (see Table 6). This compared to 8.9 percent of White persons who had incomes below the poverty level. It is salient to note that the different types of Spanish groups varied in proportions of low income persons. For example, while only 14 percent of persons of Cuban origin had incomes below the poverty level, 33 per-

TABLE 6

PERSONS BELOW THE LOW-INCOME LEVEL BY SPANISH ORIGIN AND RACE FOR 1972, 1973 AND 1974

(Numbers in Thousands)

	1972		1973		1974	
CATEGORY	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Spanish Origin	2,366	22(1)	2,414(1)	22(1)	2,601(2)	23.2(2)
Blacks(3)	7,710	33.3	7,388	31.4	7,467	31.4
White(3)	16,203	9.0	15,142	8.4	16,290	8.9

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports,
(1) "Characteristics of the Low Income Population: 1973" p.60, No.98, January 1975, p.1

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports,
(2) "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1975"(Advance Report, p.20, No.283, August 1975.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports,
(3) "The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population of the United States: 1974," p.23 No.54, p.42.

cent of all persons of Puerto Rican origin had incomes below the poverty level in 1974.

With these social and economic characteristics of the Hispanic community in mind, this paper will proceed to present what data is available from the various Federal agencies administering the aforementioned public welfare programs.

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Public assistance programs in the U.S. along with the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Program were born when the Social Security Acts of 1935 became law. The number of AFDC recipients was expected to decline; however, the number of recipients grew steadily during the 1950's and more rapidly in the 1960's as it came increasingly to serve mothers who had never married or who were divorced, deserted or separated, rather than those who had been widowed, as originally anticipated. By 1971 only 14 percent of AFDC families were headed by widows: 76 percent were headed by women who were divorced, deserted, separated, never married, or otherwise living apart from their children's father; and the remaining 10 percent were intact families, many helped under a program for unemployed fathers (AFDC-UF) started in 1961.[8]

The AFDC program is administered by the Social Rehabilitation Service (SRS) of the Department of Health Education and Welfare. The SRS sets state standards, and allocated the Federal financial share to states for this program. Each state has its own eligibility rates (within those required or permitted under the Social Security Act) and decides for itself how much money a family needs to buy food and clothing, pay for housing, etc.

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[8] Arron, Henry J., Why is Welfare So Hard to Reform, The Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., December 1972, p.7.

The AFDC is intended to help children and their families who need money to live on because a parent is dead, disabled, or absent from home, or (in some states) is unemployed. As of June 1975, only 28 states were administering the unemployed father segment of the AFDC program.

The SRS is one of the few agencies administering a public assistance program, that collects racial and ethnic data on its beneficiaries on a regular basis. In July 1970, SRS issued one of these studies (see Table 7) on a selected basis depicting demographic and program characteristics of the more than 1.3 million families, including almost 4 million children, who were receiving AFDC benefits in the month of November or December 1967. The data was derived from a sample survey which included all states and jurisdictions except Guam. The source of the SRS study data was agency records and case worker's knowledge of the case. The findings of this, and similar SRS studies, were inflated to represent all recipients of money payments during the study months.

According to the SRS's findings during the months of November and December of 1967:

> Children receiving AFDC were about equally divided between White and other races. Forty-seven percent of the children were black, close to 1.5 percent

TABLE 7

AFDC Recipient Families by Latin American Birth or Ancestry, 1967

STATE AND CENSUS DIVISION	TOTAL	LATIN AMERICAN BIRTH OR ANCESTRY					NOT OF LATIN AMERICAN BIRTH OR ANCESTRY	UNKNOWN
		TOTAL	MEXICAN	PUERTO RICAN	CUBAN	OTHER		
TOTAL:								
NUMBER...........	1 278 260	184 618	71 706	101 027	1 731	10 154	1 068 915	24 690
PERCENT...........	100.0	14.4	5.6	7.9	.1	.8	83.6	1.9
NEW ENGLAND.........	68 685	4.3	.1	3.8	.1	.4	93.5	2.2
MAINE..............	5 874	.4	.4	.0	.0	.0	98.3	1.3
NEW HAMPSHIRE....	1 402	.4	.4	.0	.0	.0	99.1	.4
VERMONT...........	2 105	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	82.1	17.9
MASSACHUSETTS....	35 958	2.5	.0	1.7	.1	.7	95.2	2.3
RHODE ISLAND......	7 501	1.1	.6	.5	.0	.0	97.6	1.3
CONNECTICUT......	15 845	12.5	.0	12.3	.0	.1	86.9	.6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC...	300 050	20.4	.1	19.1	.4	.8	77.7	1.9
NEW YORK.........	196 218	29.0	.2	27.2	.5	1.1	68.6	2.4
NEW JERSEY........	36 176	7.8	.0	7.6	.1	.1	90.3	1.9
PENNSYLVANIA......	67 656	1.9	.0	1.9	.0	.0	97.5	.6
E. N. CENTRAL.......	182 619	2.3	1.0	1.2	.0	.0	95.4	2.3
OHIO...............	53 479	.8	.3	.4	.0	.0	97.7	1.5
INDIANA...........	12 172	1.7	.8	1.0	.0	.0	95.6	2.7
ILLINOIS..........	57 903	4.5	1.4	2.9	.0	.1	93.7	1.8
MICHIGAN.........	44 455	1.4	1.3	.1	.0	.0	94.8	3.8
WISCONSIN........	14 610	2.8	1.5	1.3	.0	.0	94.5	2.7
W. N. CENTRAL.......	74 940	1.6	1.4	.1	.0	.1	96.7	1.7
MINNESOTA.........	15 929	1.6	1.3	.3	.0	.1	96.7	1.7
IOWA...............	11 795	.9	.8	.0	.0	.2	95.6	3.5
MISSOURI..........	26 729	.7	.5	.0	.0	.2	97.2	2.0
NORTH DAKOTA......	2 312	.4	.4	.0	.0	.0	99.5	.1
SOUTH DAKOTA......	3 706	.7	.6	.0	.0	.1	99.1	.2
NEBRASKA..........	5 509	3.3	3.0	.0	.0	.3	96.3	.4
KANSAS............	8 960	4.5	4.4	.0	.0	.1	94.8	.7
SOUTH ATLANTIC......	163 011	.4	.1	.2	.1	.1	96.7	2.9
DELAWARE..........	3 818	.9	.0	.9	.0	.0	97.4	1.7
MARYLAND..........	26 443	.1	.1	.1	.0	.0	88.6	11.3
DIST. OF COL......	5 341	.3	.0	.3	.0	.0	98.6	1.1
VIRGINIA..........	10 153	.1	.0	.1	.0	.0	99.4	.4
WEST VIRGINIA.....	20 887	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	96.9	3.1
NORTH CAROLINA....	26 098	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	99.4	.6
SOUTH CAROLINA....	6 996	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	99.7	.3
GEORGIA...........	25 941	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	98.7	1.3
FLORIDA...........	37 334	1.6	.2	.7	.4	.3	97.3	1.1
E. S. CENTRAL.......	92 146	.2	.1	.1	.0	.0	97.7	2.2
KENTUCKY..........	26 804	.1	.1	.0	.0	.0	95.8	4.1
TENNESSEE.........	23 535	.3	.0	.1	.1	.0	98.2	1.5
ALABAMA...........	18 137	.4	.2	.2	.0	.0	99.5	.2
MISSISSIPPI.......	23 671	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	97.9	2.1
W. S. CENTRAL.......	85 060	13.2	13.0	.1	.0	.1	86.5	.3
ARKANSAS..........	9 233	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0
LOUISIANA.........	27 156	.6	.2	.1	.1	.2	98.9	.4
OKLAHOMA..........	22 316	.8	.7	.0	.0	.1	98.7	.5
TEXAS.............	26 355	41.2	41.0	.2	.0	.0	58.6	.1
MOUNTAIN............	48 637	38.1	25.9	.1	.0	12.1	60.6	1.3
MONTANA...........	2 495	4.2	3.8	.2	.0	.2	93.8	2.0
IDAHO.............	3 047	5.2	5.2	.0	.0	.0	93.9	.9
WYOMING...........	1 220	25.6	25.0	.0	.0	.7	73.9	.5
COLORADO..........	13 951	45.5	44.2	.2	.0	1.1	51.4	3.2
NEW MEXICO........	9 396	71.3	11.2	.2	.0	59.9	28.7	.0
ARIZONA...........	10 208	39.0	38.6	.0	.0	.4	60.6	.4
UTAH..............	6 672	12.9	12.0	.3	.0	.6	86.0	1.1
NEVADA............	1 648	4.3	4.1	.2	.0	.0	95.4	.4
PACIFIC.............	225 275	20.9	19.8	.3	.1	.6	77.3	1.8
WASHINGTON........	15 867	3.0	2.9	.1	.0	.0	95.3	1.7
OREGON............	10 206	2.9	2.5	.0	.1	.3	95.6	1.5
CALIFORNIA.......	193 336	23.9	22.7	.3	.2	.7	74.3	1.8
ALASKA............	1 217	.4	.2	.0	.2	.0	99.2	.4
HAWAII............	4 649	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	95.0	5.0
PUERTO RICO........	37 458	99.9	.0	99.8	.0	.1	.0	.1
VIRGIN ISLANDS.....	393	36.6	.0	35.4	.8	.5	40.7	22.6

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Social and Rehabilitation Service, "Findings of 1967 AFDC Study," July 1970

> were American Indians, and 6.2 percent of AFDC children were of Mexican Ancestry.
>
> Among the AFDC families, 53 percent were White 44 percent were Black, with the proportion of American Indians the same as for child recipients. Fourteen percent of all AFCD families were of Latin American birth or ancestry, the heaviest concentrations being among the States being in California, New York, Texas, and the Mountain states. Most of the families with a Latin American background were either Puerto Rican or Mexican American*
>
> AFDC families were primarily urban dwellers. Seventy-one percent of the families resided in metropolitan areas, and almost half lived in cities of 100,000 or more.
>
> Half of the fathers whose birthplace was known had been born in the same state where the AFDC family was living in 1967. Over one-fourth had migrated from the South; nine percent had come either from Puerto Rico or a Latin American country.[9]

According to Table 7, 184,618 (14.4 percent) of all AFDC families were of Latin American birth or ancestry; 71,706 (5.6 percent) were of Mexican ancestry; 101,027 (7.9 percent were of Puerto Rican ancestry, and 11,885 (.9 percent) were of other Latin American ancestry in 1967.

A similar SRS study providing demographic and program characteristics of families who received an AFDC assistance payment in January 1971 was published in December 1971 by HEW. This report was based on a one percent sample survey and provided information for the nation, for census division, and for 21 states. It is interesting to note that, according to SRS, because of large caseloads, California and New York submitted samples of one-half of one percent.[10]

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*Latin American was the identifier then used by SRS to identify persons of Spanish origin the identifier it now uses.

[9] U.S.Department of Health Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, National Center for Social Statistics, "Findings of the 1967 AFDC Study: Data by State and Census Division: Part I, Demographic, and Program Characteristics." (Washington: The Center), July 1970, NCSS Report AFDC-3 (67), pp.1-2.

According to SRS's data, there was a decrease in Mexican American families receiving AFDC. Mexican American families declined from 5.6 percent of all families in 1967 to 5.2 percent in 1971 (See Table 8). It is interesting to note that SRS changed its reporting methods for families of Latin American birth or ancestry between 1967 and 1971 which complicates the analysis of the data for all Hispanic groups. Nevertheless, the following comparative data can be extracted from these reports:

December 1967	Total Families	Not of Latin Birth or Ancestry	Mexican	Puerto Rican and Other	Black
Number	1,278,260	1,068,915	71,706	112,912	568,422
Percent	100.0	83.6	5.6	8.8	445
January 1971					
Number	2,523,900	2,120,000	131,000	225,800	1,093,200
Percent	100.0	84.4	5.2	8.9	43.3

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[10] Ibid.,"Findings of the 1971 AFDC Study, NCSS Report AFDC-1(73).

TABLE 8 AFDC Families, by Latin American Birth or Ancestry, 1971

CENSUS DIVISION AND STATE	TOTAL FAMILIES	NOT OF LATIN AMERICAN BIRTH OR ANCESTRY	KNOWN TO BE OF LATIN AMERICAN BIRTH OR ANCESTRY					UNKNOWN WHETHER OF LATIN AMERICAN BIRTH OR ANCESTRY	
			MEXICAN	PUERTO RICAN	CUBAN	OTHER LATIN AMERICAN	LATIN AMERICAN TYPE UNKNOWN	HAS SPANISH SURNAME	DOES NOT HAVE SPANISH SURNAME
TOTAL:									
NUMBER.............	2523900	2120100	131000	186900	5300	24900	8700	21300	25700
PERCENT............	100.0	84.0	5.2	7.4	0.2	1.0	0.3	0.8	1.0
CENSUS DIVISION:									
NEW ENGLAND..........	134000	92.8	0.0	5.6	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.8
MIDDLE ATLANTIC......	560100	76.2	0.1	19.7	0.6	2.5	0.2	0.1	0.6
EAST NORTH CENTRAL..	363500	96.0	1.5	1.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
WEST NORTH CENTRAL..	136600	96.3	1.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	2.0
SOUTH ATLANTIC.......	321800	98.9	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL..	161900	99.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL..	183000	84.6	15.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
MOUNTAIN.............	87600	65.1	22.3	0.1	0.0	5.8	1.4	4.9	0.5
PACIFIC..............	517000	76.7	14.5	0.7	0.2	1.0	1.0	2.8	3.0
SELECTED STATES:									
ALABAMA..............	42600	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
CALIFORNIA...........	440000	73.9	16.4	0.6	0.2	1.1	1.2	3.2	3.3
FLORIDA..............	70200	97.3	1.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3
GEORGIA..............	75100	99.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
ILLINOIS.............	120300	92.4	1.7	4.7	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4
KENTUCKY.............	37600	99.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
LOUISIANA............	54100	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MARYLAND.............	40900	99.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
MASSACHUSETTS........	72300	92.8	0.0	4.8	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	1.5
MICHIGAN.............	94700	97.4	1.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4
MISSISSIPPI..........	34600	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MISSOURI.............	48500	98.4	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
NEW JERSEY...........	86200	85.0	0.1	12.3	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.5
NEW YORK.............	332600	66.1	0.1	28.4	0.8	4.0	0.1	0.0	0.5
NORTH CAROLINA.......	39200	98.5	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
OHIO.................	91500	98.7	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
PENNSYLVANIA.........	141300	94.6	0.2	3.8	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	1.0
TENNESSEE............	47100	98.3	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.8
TEXAS................	84000	67.6	31.9	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
WASHINGTON...........	42500	93.2	4.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.7	1.2
PUERTO RICO..........	57800	0.5	0.3	98.4	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0

Source: U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, National Center for Social Statistics, "Findings of the 1971 AFDC Study", December 22, 1971, Table 3

From the above, we see that while there was a percentage decrease for Mexican origin families, the numerical value nearly doubled, from 71,706 in 1967 to 131,000 Mexican origin families receiving AFDC benefits in 1971. By comparison, according to U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports, there were 2.0 million families with head of Spanish origin in March 1971; of these 1.02 million were families with head of Mexican origin households. If this is true, then over 10 percent of all families of Mexican origin were receiving AFDC benefits in January in 1971.

When compared to the 1971 AFDC study, the 1973 AFDC study revealed a decrease in White families and an increase in Black families who received an assistance payment in January 1973. There was also a decrease in Spanish origin families in 1973 when compared to the aforementioned 1967 study, from 14.4 percent of all families to 13.7 percent.[11]

	Percent of Families on AFDC	
	1971	1973
White...............	48.3	46.9
Black...............	43.3	45.8
American Indian.....	1.2	1.1
Other...............	.7	2.5
Unknown.............	6.5	3.7

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[11] Ibid. "Findings of the 1973 AFDC Study, June 1974, NCSS Report AFDC-1 (73).

When race and ethnicity were combined for the first time in 1973, there was a fuller identification of this characteristic of the AFDC population.

	Percent of Families on AFDC
White	38.0
Black	45.8
Persons of Spanish origin or descent	(1) 13.4
American Indian	1.1
Other	.5
Unknown	1.2

(1) Includes persons shown in preceding tabulation whose race is White, other or unknown.

According to Table 9, in 1973 the number of Mexican origin families receiving cash AFDC benefits increased to 160,208 families as compared to 71,706 families in 1967 and 131,000 in 1971. However, as a percent of all AFDC families, the Mexican origin participation rate remained relatively constant: 5.6 percent in 1967, decreasing to 5.2 percent in 1971 and increasing to 5.4 percent of all families in 1973. By comparison Black families comprised 44.5 percent in 1967, 43.3 percent in 1971 and 45.8 percent in 1973 of all AFDC family beneficiaries represented.

TABLE 9

AFDC Families, By Spanish Origin or Descent of Payee, 1973

SPECIFIED HEW REGION AND STATE	TOTAL FAMILIES	SPANISH ORIGIN OR DESCENT				NON-SPANISH ORIGIN OR DESCENT	UNKNOWN
		MEXICAN	PUERTO RICAN	CUBAN	OTHER SPANISH		
TOTAL:							
NUMBER..............	2989891	160208	202881	3545	40917	2578607	3733
PERCENT............	100.0	5.4	6.8	0.1	1.4	86.2	0.1
HEW REGION:							
II................	529049	0.3	33.1	0.2	1.7	64.7	#
III...............	335952	0.2	2.3	#	0.3	97.1	#
IV................	458012	0.2	#	#	#	99.4	0.1
V.................	619096	1.7	2.0	0.2	0.2	95.7	0.2
VI................	255455	18.2	0.0	0.0	2.9	78.8	0.1
VII...............	121415	1.3	0.0	#	0.1	98.5	0.1
VIII..............	63278	4.9	#	#	19.4	75.1	#
IX................	448296	20.5	0.5	#	1.9	76.8	#
STATE:							
ALABAMA...........	45531	#	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.9	0.0
ARIZONA...........	19600	29.3	0.0	0.0	0.8	69.8	0.0
ARKANSAS..........	23065	#	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.6	0.0
CALIFORNIA........	411992	20.9	#	#	1.9	76.6	#
COLORADO..........	31874	3.1	0.0	#	37.2 •1•	59.2	#
FLORIDA...........	94622	0.7	#	#	#	98.1	0.0
GEORGIA...........	99718	0.0	0.0	#	0.0	99.5	#
ILLINOIS..........	193107	2.7	5.3	#	#	91.0	#
INDIANA...........	49526	1.2	#	0.0	0.0	98.2	#
IOWA..............	21895	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	98.4	#
KANSAS............	20189	3.7	0.0	0.0	#	95.6	#
KENTUCKY..........	42282	#	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.9	0.0
LOUISIANA.........	65125	#	0.0	0.0	#	99.5	0.0
MARYLAND..........	61576	#	#	#	#	98.8	#
MICHIGAN..........	160215	1.6	#	0.0	#	97.8	#
MINNESOTA.........	37550	1.2	0.0	#	0.8	97.9	0.0
MISSISSIPPI.......	46414	#	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.9	0.0
MISSOURI..........	67699	#	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.8	0.0
NEBRASKA..........	11632	3.2	0.0	#	#	96.2	#
NEW JERSEY........	114805	#	14.9	#	1.0	83.6	0.0
NEW YORK..........	358294	0.3	28.8	#	2.2	68.5	#
NORTH CAROLINA....	43891	#	0.0	0.0	#	99.7	0.0
NORTH DAKOTA......	4013	#	#	0.0	#	99.6	0.0
OHIO..............	137164	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	98.1	#
OKLAHOMA..........	29214	2.5	0.0	0.0	#	96.8	0.6
PENNSYLVANIA......	169766	#	4.3	0.0	#	94.9	#
RHODE ISLAND......	14581	0.8	1.9	#	1.2	95.8	0.0
SOUTH DAKOTA......	6356	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.4	0.0
TENNESSEE.........	56605	#	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.5	#
TEXAS.............	120932	34.4	0.0	0.0	#	65.4	0.0
VIRGINIA..........	45958	0.0	0.0	0.0	#	99.8	0.0
WEST VIRGINIA.....	20517	#	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.8	0.0
WISCONSIN.........	41534	2.0	1.2	0.0	#	96.4	#

# NOT COMPUTED: BASE TOO SMALL.

•1• INCLUDES ALL PAYEES OF SPANISH ORIGIN OR DESCENT WHO WERE BORN IN THE UNITED STATES.

Source: U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, "Findings of the 1973 AFDC Study", June 1974.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME PROGRAM

The Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program is a relatively recent program which came into being as a result of the Social Security Act Amendments of 1972 (PL 92-603).

The objective of the program is to provide supplemental income to persons aged 65 and over and to persons blind and disabled.

The Bureau of Supplemental Security Income of the Social Security Administration of HEW, estimates that in fiscal year 1975, and average of 4.5 million recipients received monthly cash benefits. The estimate for FY 76 was 5.0 million recipients.

The Federal financial obligations for this program, or benefit outlays, was $1.8 billion in FY 74; and estimated 4.1 billion in FY 75 and 4.8 billion in FY 76.

Most data published by the SSI Bureau is based on estimates for the blind, disabled and aged. Data is not available on the racial and ethnic composition of SSI beneficiaries. However, in the near future the SSI Bureau is planning to conduct a study on Spanish-surnamed SSI recipients in the five Southwestern states of, Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.

It is important to note that the median age of persons of Mexican origin in March 1975 was 19.5 years making it a young population. Furthermore, while 10.1 percent of the total population was over 65 years old, only 3.3 percent of the Mexican origin population fell in this category.

MEDICAID

The purpose of the Medicaid program, which was first authorized in 1965 by Title XIX of the Social Security Act, is to help finance state plans for providing medical care to low-income populations.

All families who are eligible for Aid for Dependent Children are automatically eligible for Medicaid. In 1975, in 34 states, all aged, blind and disabled persons receiving Supplemental income Security Income (SSI) were automatically eligible for Medicaid; in the remaining 16 states, Medicaid coverage is limited to those who can meet more restrictive eligibility criteria, although it is required by Federal regulation that applicants be allowed to deduct their medical expenses from income in determining income eligibility for the program. In addition, about 30 states have chosen the option of covering those SSI recipients eligible for state supplementary payments. Finally, 29 states cover other medically needy persons.

This program is administered by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of HEW. In FY 74, $5.8 billion was released in grants; $7.6 [illegible]ion was awarded to states in FY 75. An estimated 24.7 million persons received medical assistance in FY 75 and 25.5 million in FY 76.

Unfortunately, there is no statistical data available on the racial and ethnic group participation in the Medicaid Programs.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

The National School Lunch Program as we know it today finds its authority in the National School Lunch Act of 1946, as amended. The Child Nutrition Division of the Food and Nutrition Service of the Department of Agriculture is responsible for the administration of the Program.

The objective of the program is to assist states, through cash grants and food donations, in making the school lunch program available to all school children, thereby promoting their health and well-being. The beneficiaries of the program are children of high school grade and under in attendance at participating schools.

In fiscal year 1974, 3.985 billion lunches were served. Of these, nearly 1.5 billion were served free or at reduced prices to needy children. This program cost about $1.1 billion in FY 74.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture does not systematically collect national racial and ethnic data by which an accurate determination can be made of participation rates of Chicanos and other Hispanic groups in this program.

However, in 1972, a national random sample involving 650 public and private schools was administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture to evaluate and determine, according to racial and ethnic groupings, the extent to which students throughout the nation participated in the National School Lunch Program. Among other things, this study reported that, nationally, absentee rates were higher for the Black and the Spanish-surname students than for any other racial groups on the day of the survey. More than 40 percent of the Spanish-surnamed students enrolled in school were certified to receive free lunches while only eight percent of the White students were certified to receive free lunches. Spanish-surnamed and Black students doubled the national average in certification for reduced price lunches. On the day of the survey, 85% of them (those that were certified) were actually receiving a free lunch.[12] (see Table 10)

It should be noted that the study was not released to the general public due to the question of reliability of the data. However, it does represent one of the only efforts to study certification and participation rates of minorities in the School Lunch Program.

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[12] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, National School Lunch Program Survey, 1972.

TABLE 10

PERCENT OF ENROLLED STUDENTS BY CERTIFICATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION: MARCH 1972

STUDENTS	SPANISH-SURNAMED	BLACK	WHITE	TOTAL
Enrolled in School	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absent from School	10.3	10.1	6.2	7.0
Certified for free lunch	46.8	58.1	8.1	18.6
Certified for r/p lunch*	2.3	2.0	0.7	1.0
ONE DAY SURVEY:				
Received free lunch	38.2	49.5	6.9	15.0
Received f/r lunch	1.4	1.6	0.6	0.8
Received lunch	57.4	66.3	52.6	55.2

Source: 1972 National School Lunch Program Survey, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food & Nutrition Service. p.45.

*r/p-reduced price lunch

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Persons who are poor and subsequently become unemployed are probably the victims with the greatest number of needs, food and nutrition being among them. One of the major Federal programs to help meet this need is the Food Stamp Program.

The food stamp program, authorized by the Food Stamps Act of 1964 as amended (7 U.S.C. 2011), is designed to help low-income households obtain nutritionally adequate diets by supplementing their food budget. Under the program, participating households buy food stamps or "coupons" having a face value greater than their purchase price. The prices participants pay for the stamps and the total value of the stamps they receive are based on household size, income, and certain deductible expenses; extremely low-income households get food stamps free. The difference between the face value of food stamps and their purchase price is termed "bonus value" (from nothing to 30 percent of income).

According to a Food and Nutrition Service October 1974 Study, Spanish American participants registered the largest numerical increase (53,000), accounting for 69 percent of the total increase.* Twenty-eight states reported increases in the number of Hispanic participants with New York accounting for almost 75 percent of the over all increase (40,000). Substantial increases also occurred in Florida (15,000), Massachusetts (12,000), New Jersey (12,000), and Arizona (10,000).[13]

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*Spanish American is the identifier used by USDA when referring to the Spanish language minority population of the U.S.

In FY 75, the Federal Government spent $3.7 billion in Food Stamps benefits. Over 17.9 million people participated in this program in April 1975 as compared to 14.8 million in October 1974. Of this total 48.5 percent of the participants were White, 37.9 percent were Black, 11.4 percent were Spanish American, and all others were 1.4 percent (see Figure 1).

The Food and Nutrition Service of USDA also noted that in April 1975 increases were recorded in all racial and ethnic categories: White 1.86 million, Black 878,000, Spanish American 291,000 and all others 193,000, as compared to the previous reporting period.

Racial and ethnic composition on the Food Stamp Program for April 1975 compared to October 1974 showed the following changes: White, up 2.1 percent; Black, down 0.1 percent; and Spanish American, down 0.5 percent.

According to Table 11, those states where "Spanish Americans" made up 20 percent or more of all Food Stamp Program (FSP) participants in April 1975 included:

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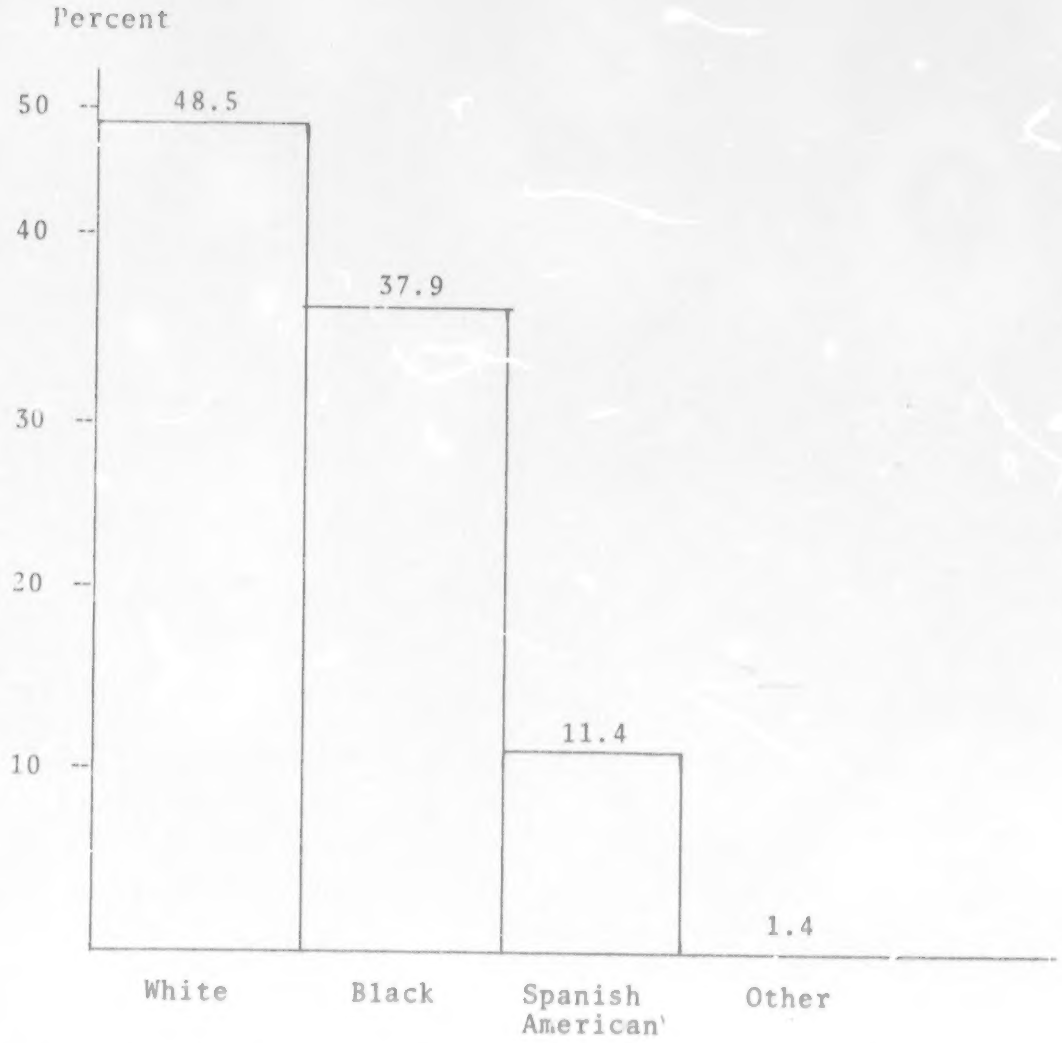
[13] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, "Family Food Assistance Programs Racial Participation," October 1974.

FIGURE 1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

PARTICIPANTS BY RACE AND NATIONAL ORIGIN: APRIL 1975*



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, "Family Food Assistance Programs Racial Participation: April 1975", Washington, D.C., p.11.

*Data on persons participating in the Food Stamp Program are based on a "participant-count" at one point in time. Therefore, differing rotation rates (unknown) for the different ethnic and racial categories could mean greater understatement of numbers benefiting in one or another category.

Select States	Percent Spanish Origin Population	Percent Spanish American FSP Participants
Arizona	20.0	27.6
California	14.4	23.8
Colorado	14.0*	37.3
New Mexico	45.0	62.4
New York	8.5	29.5
Texas	18.8	47.7

*Estimated.

Nationally, while the Spanish origin population made up 5.3 percent of the total U.S. population in March 1975 (11.2 million) they had an 11.4 percent participation rate about 2.0 million in this program in April 1975, more than twice their representation in the general population (see Table 12). In other words, about 19 percent of the total Spanish origin population were Food Stamp beneficiaries as compared to about 8.5 percent of the total U.S. population, more than twice the national average.

TABLE 11

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM: NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC CATEGORY APRIL 1975

STATE/REGION	RACIAL CATEGORY NEGRO	SPANISH AMERICAN	AMERICAN INDIAN	ORIENTAL	WHITE	ALL OTHER	TOTAL
	NUMBER						
NORTHEAST							
Connecticut	41,434	25,358	—	—	100,900	1,734	[illegible]
Delaware	19,920	1,210	9	162	18,106	256	39,463
District of Columbia	126,826	209	19	31	3,896	617	131,596*
Maine	345	101	784	80	138,457	188	139,855
Maryland	[illegible]	899	647	111	94,604	1,939	278,384
Massachusetts	133,310	80,026	479	968	338,573	221	553,577
New Hampshire	275	75	199	41	67,657	444	68,531
New Jersey	213,681	84,996	1,933	658	250,121	9,678	561,067
New York	475,908	410,788	1,497	2,442	466,190	34,378	1,391,203
Pennsylvania	311,364	35,357	341	665	367,393	1,798	917,122
Rhode Island	18,151	4,121	—	11	73,507	—	95,790*
Vermont	41	47	—	—	30,858	—	30,946
Virginia	157,112	431	236	197	150,449	912	309,337
West Virginia	10,777	--	36	69	245,634	65	256,579
REGIONAL TOTAL	1,689,208	643,813	6,018	5,415	2,556,347	52,270	4,983,076
SOUTHEAST							
Alabama	253,975	200	206	15	147,192	700	402,288
Florida	348,858	121,399	600	579	293,096	513	765,045
Georgia	373,385	389	66	132	210,312	100	584,384
Kentucky	72,846	275	60	113	398,062	74	471,430
Mississippi	301,381	190	978	26	101,496	77	404,348
North Carolina	325,735	274	14,186	280	257,263	1,516	599,254
South Carolina	324,295	36	186	29	134,333	30	458,911
Tennessee	186,710	107	71	109	267,625	35	454,647
REGIONAL TOTAL	2,187,385	122,370	16,355	1,283	1,609,379	3,035	4,140,507
MIDWEST							
Illinois	621,981	33,847	1,981	729	311,806	11,780	982,124*
Indiana	76,326	3,638	92	129	178,459	326	258,970
Iowa	7,678	1,419	674	76	115,442	373	125,462
Kansas	14,741	1,303	342	12	44,962	2,363	63,905
Michigan	274,504	21,563	2,441	451	392,334	10,718	702,011*
Minnesota	8,739	2,646	7,091	735	174,376	11	193,618*
Missouri	133,386	964	15	37	191,539	14	326,155
Nebraska	11,024	1,770	1,182	321	38,603	93	52,893
Ohio	323,694	11,575	613	729	615,247	1,756	953,614
Wisconsin	40,376	2,161	3,551	73	120,530	2,489	169,180
REGIONAL TOTAL	1,512,671	81,068	17,982	3,192	2,163,278	29,923	3,828,114
WEST CENTRAL							
Arkansas	135,309	663	80	12	148,090	920	285,134
Colorado	18,199	61,312	724	235	83,626	326	164,422
Louisiana	366,080	1,812	376	133	147,146	499	516,046
Montana	97	882	6,458	25	33,350	47	40,859
New Mexico	6,433	98,451	22,454	97	29,973	3346	157,754
North Dakota	31	101	1,290	21	17,193	10	16,664
Oklahoma	43,721	11,873	12,723	31	126,964	—	187,332
South Dakota	120	216	6,685	13	26,014	2	33,050
Texas	357,217	358,096	1,083	310	237,417	16,550	1,170,673
Utah	926	6,406	1,950	127	42,841	287	52,537
Wyoming	250	1,850	541	5	8,317	9	10,972
REGIONAL TOTAL	930,453	721,662	54,364	1,029	900,931	21,996	2,637,465
WESTERN							
Alaska	421	63	8,990	33	5,929	848	16,304
Arizona	16,311	[illegible]	9,760	190	82,123	268	174,030
California	419,419	374,258	12,744	94,561	639,635	33,481	1,574,098
Idaho	136	4,154	714	—	35,609	1,073	41,686
Nevada	10,914	1,648	789	83	23,001	160	36,395
Oregon	11,381	6,361	1,478	359	204,827	5,162	229,768
Washington	17,306	14,515	6,750	992	216,652	1,303	257,518
REGIONAL TOTAL	476,358	466,397	41,225	76,238	1,207,776	42,275	2,329,999
U.S. TOTAL 1/	6,796,035	2,045,815	135,944	107,157	8,687,711	146,499	17,919,161

1/ Excludes outlying areas.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, "Family Food Assistance Programs Racial Participation: April 1, 1975," Washington, D.C., p. 10

TABLE 12

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC CATEGORY APRIL 1975

STATE/REGION	NEGRO	SPANISH AMERICAN	AMERICAN INDIAN	ORIENTAL	WHITE	ALL OTHER	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS
	- - - - -	- - - - -	Percent	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- -NUMBER- -
NORTHEAST							
Connecticut	24.5	15.0	--	--	59.5	1.6	169,426
Delaware	50.2	3.1	2/	0.4	45.7	0.6	39,663
District of Columbia	96.4	0.2	2/	2/	3.0	0.4	131,596*
Maine	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.1	99.1	0.1	159,855
Maryland	64.7	0.3	0.2	0.1	34.0	0.7	278,384
Massachusetts	24.1	14.4	0.1	0.2	61.2	2/	553,577
New Hampshire	0.4	0.1	2/	0.1	98.7	0.7	68,531
New Jersey	38.1	15.1	0.4	0.1	44.6	1.7	561,067
New York	34.2	29.5	0.1	0.2	33.5	2.5	1,391,203
Pennsylvania	33.9	3.9	2/	0.1	61.9	0.2	917,122
Rhode Island	19.0	4.3	--	2/	76.7	--	95,790*
Vermont	0.1	0.1	--	--	99.8	--	50,946
Virginia	50.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	48.6	0.3	309,337
West Virginia	4.2	--	2/	2/	95.7	0.1	256,579
REGIONAL TOTAL	33.9	12.9	0.1	0.1	51.9	0.1	4,983,076
SOUTHEAST							
Alabama	63.1	2/	0.1	2/	36.6	0.2	402,288
Florida	45.6	15.8	0.1	0.1	38.3	0.1	765,043
Georgia	63.9	0.1	2/	2/	36.0	2/	584,584
Kentucky	15.5	0.1	2/	2/	84.4	2/	471,430
Mississippi	74.6	0.1	0.2	2/	25.1	2/	404,348
North Carolina	54.4	2/	2.4	2/	42.9	0.3	599,254
South Carolina	70.7	2/	2/	2/	29.3	2/	458,911
Tennessee	41.1	2/	2/	2/	58.9	2/	454,647
REGIONAL TOTAL	52.8	3.0	0.4	2/	43.7	0.1	4,140,507
MIDWEST							
Illinois	63.3	3.5	0.2	0.1	31.7	1.2	982,126*
Indiana	29.5	1.4	2/	0.1	68.9	0.1	251,970
Iowa	6.1	1.1	0.5	0.1	91.9	0.3	125,662
Kansas	23.1	2.4	0.5	2/	70.3	3.7	63,905
Michigan	39.1	3.1	0.3	0.1	55.9	1.5	702,011*
Minnesota	4.5	1.4	3.7	0.4	90.0	2/	193,618*
Missouri	41.0	0.3	2/	2/	58.7	2/	326,155
Nebraska	20.9	3.3	2.2	0.4	73.0	0.2	52,893
Ohio	33.9	1.2	0.1	0.1	64.5	0.2	953,616
Wisconsin	23.9	1.2	2.1	2/	71.3	1.5	169,160
REGIONAL TOTAL	39.5	2.1	0.5	0.1	57.0	0.8	3,929,114
WEST-CENTRAL							
Arkansas	47.5	0.3	2/	2/	51.9	0.3	285,154
Colorado	11.1	37.3	0.4	0.1	50.9	0.2	164,422
Louisiana	70.9	0.4	0.1	2/	28.5	0.1	316,046
Montana	0.2	2.2	15.8	0.1	81.6	0.1	40,859
New Mexico	4.1	62.4	14.2	0.1	19.0	0.2	157,754
North Dakota	0.3	0.5	6.9	0.1	92.1	0.1	18,666
Oklahoma	24.4	1.0	6.8	2/	67.8	--	187,332
South Dakota	0.4	0.7	20.2	2/	78.7	2/	33,050
Texas	30.5	47.7	0.1	2/	20.3	1.4	1,170,673
Utah	1.8	12.2	3.7	0.2	81.6	0.5	52,537
Wyoming	2.3	16.9	4.9	2/	75.8	0.1	10,972
REGIONAL TOTAL	35.3	2[illegible].7	2.1	2/	34.2	0.7	2,637,4[illegible]5
WESTERN							
Alaska	2.6	0.4	55.1	0.3	36.4	5.2	16,304
Arizona	9.4	37.6	5.6	0.1	47.2	0.1	174,030
California	26.7	23.8	0.8	6.0	40.6	2.1	1,574,098
Idaho	0.3	10.0	1.7	--	85.4	2.6	41,686
Nevada	29.8	4.5	2.2	0.2	62.9	0.4	36,595
Oregon	5.0	2.8	0.6	0.2	89.2	2.2	229,768
Washington	6.7	5.6	1.6	0.4	84.2	0.[illegible]	257,518
REGIONAL TOTAL	20.4	20.0	1.8	4.1	51.9	1.8	2,329,99[illegible]
U.S. TOTAL 1/	37.9	11.4	0.8	0.6	48.5	0.[illegible]	17,919,161

1/ Excludes outlying areas.
2/ Less than 0.05 percent.
* Estimated

Source: U.S. Department of AGriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, "Family Food Assistance Programs: Racial Participation: April 1, 1975", Washington, D.C., p.11.

PUBLIC HOUSING ASSISTANCE

The U.S. Housing Act of 1937, as amended, provides the legislative authority for the "traditional" low rent housing programs impacting this group; i.e. the Rent Supplement Program Section 8 Housing Assistance for Lower Income Families.

Until 1968, housing assistance to the low-income population was meager, but from 1968 to 1973 these programs, administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, increased and expanded rapidly. However, in 1973 the Nixon administration froze all new commitments under the major low-income housing assistance programs.

In general, most data collected by HUD on the participation rates of Hispanics in low-income housing programs is published in HUD Statistical Year Book. However, the available data is not broken down by the various Hispanic subgroups; i.e. Mexican American, Puerto Rican and Cuban.

Furthermore, HUD uses "Spanish American" as the term to identify the Spanish-speaking language minority population. It is worth noting that this identifier is in the process of being changed to a more encompassing term; e.g., Hispanic.

Data on two public housing programs are presented in this section as indices of the participation rate of Hispanics in HUD's low-income public housing programs, namely, the Low-Rent Public Housing Program and the Rent Supplement Program. Due to the fact that the Section 8 Program is so recent and because HUD is still ironing out the wrinkles in its data collection on this program, no data is presented on this program. However, it would be interesting to study characteristics of this relatively new program in future studies.

The Low Rent Public Housing Program is one of the HUD programs established by the National Housing Act of 1937, as amended.

According to Table 13, of all the 102,141 families that moved into housing units under this program in 1973, 6.4 percent, or 6,541, were Spanish American families. This compares to 41 percent for White; 49 percent Black; and 4.6 percent for other minorities. Additionally, 16 percent of the Spanish American families were considered elderly families (65 years and over) as compared to 32 percent for all families; 49 percent for White families and 19 percent for Black families (See Table 13).

The Rent Supplement Program has the objective of making good quality housing available to low income families. Under this program HUD makes payments to owners of approved multifamily rental housing projects to supplement the partial rental payments of eligible tenants.

This program felt the pinch of the 1973 housing moratorium and has not expanded since. In FY 74, HUD expended $140 million insuring 18,550 units at a value of $319 million. Cumulatively,

TABLE 13

LOW RENT PUBLIC HOUSING

ALL FAMILIES WHO MOVED IN DURING THE TWELVE MONTHS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1973, BY MINORITY GROUP CATEGORY

Characteristics	All Families/a	White/non-Minority	Black	American Indian	Spanish American	Oriental	Other Minorities
Number moving in	102,141	41,683	50,241	968	6,541	477	602
Percent of total	100	41.1	49.2	0.9	6.4	0.5	0.6
Percent receiving assistance or benefits	71	73	71	62	62	56	80
Percent assistance with or without benefits	46	32	58	50	52	29	33
Percent benefits only	25	40	13	12	10	27	48
Percent not receiving assistance or benefits	29	27	29	38	38	44	20
Elderly families as percental of total	32	49	19	14	16	30	54

a/includes families for whom data on race was not available.

Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Annual HUD Statistical Year Book: 1973, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., Table 84, p. 76.

about 291,000 units were insured with a value of $4.5 billion, as of 1974.

Referring to Table 14, 19,441 families were recertified for continued occupancy under the Rent Supplement program during a twelve-month period ending September 30, 1973. Of these total families, 1,123, or about six percent were Spanish American, 20.5 percent were White, and 68 percent were Black. Table 15 reflects 1973 data for elderly families recertified for continued occupancy. Of the total 2,962 elderly families recertified for continued occupancy, 126, or about 4.3 percent were Spanish American, 50 percent were White, 39 percent were Black, and approximately 6.5 percent were other minorities.

From the brief review of two HUD administered housing programs we see that the Hispanic participation rate is commensurate with their representation in the total U.S. population. However, the Black participation rates range from about three to four times their representation in the general population. The participation rate for Whites was generally lower than their representation in the general population. (See Tables 14 and 15)

TABLE 14

RENT SUPPLEMENT HOUSING ASSISTANCE AND BENEFITS RECEIVED BY ALL FAMILIES RECERTIFIED FOR CONTINUED OCCUPANCY DURING THE TWELVE MONTHS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1973, BY MINORITY GROUP CATEGORY

Assistance and benefits	All Families						
	Total	White/non Minority	Negro/ Black	American Indian	Spanish American	Oriental	Other Minorities
Number recertified	19,441	3,979	1.146	13	126	6	15
Percent of total		20.5	68.0	0.7	6.0	0.1	0.3

Source:

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Annual HUD Statistical Year Book: 1973, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., Table 130. p. 105.

TABLE 15

RENT SUPPLEMENT HOUSING ASSISTANCE AND BENEFITS RECEIVED BY ELDERLY FAMILIES RECERTIFIED FOR CONTINUED OCCUPANCY DURING THE TWELVE MONTHS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1973, BY MINORITY GROUP CATEGORY

Assistance and Benefits	ALL FAMILIES						
	Total	White/non Minority	Negro/ Black	American Indian	Spanish American	Oriental	Other Minorities
Number recertified	2,962	1,481	1,146	13	126	6	15
Percent of total		50.0		0.4	4.3	0.2	0.5

Source:

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Annual HUD Statistical Year Book: 1973, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., Table 131, p. 105.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper has presented an overview of Hispanic participation rates in specifically defined "welfare" programs. It was noted that data on national participation rates of Hispanics in these welfare programs is somewhat scattered and at times, incomplete. Furthermore, many times the methodology employed to compile these data significantly diminishes its reliability. More specifically, the following findings can be enumerated regarding data collection of Hispanic beneficiaries in the aforementioned welfare programs:

- Virtually no data on Hispanic participation could be retrieved for the Supplemental Security Income Program (SSI) the Medicaid Program, and the Child Nutrition Programs.
- Although Hispanic participation rates are available for the Food Stamp Program and Public Housing Assistance, the data is limited in that it does not identify the participation rates by the various Hispanic groups; e.g. Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American and other Hispanic-heritage groups.
- The AFDC Program administered by SRS collects the most comprehensive data on Hispanic participation rates. Furthermore, SRS data are broken down by Hispanic subbroups. Nevertheless, SRS still has some difficulty in accurately identifying Hispanic participation rates.
- Practically all data collecting agencies use different identifiers in portraying Hispanic participation rates; i.e., Latin American, Spanish American, Spanish Origin, etc.

Notwithstanding the limitation of available statistics, there are those programs which collect a significant amount of information from which general participation patterns can be observed.

In the AFDC Program, for example, it was revealed that 14.4 percent of all AFDC families were of Latin American birth or ancestry in 1967, 14.1 percent in 1971, and 13.7 percent in 1973. By comparison, Black families comprised 44.5 percent in 1967, 43.3 percent in 1971 and 45.8 percent in 1973 of all AFDC family beneficiaries.

In October 1974, of the 14.8 million Food Stamp Program participants, 11.9 percent were identified as being Spanish American. This compares to an 11.4 percent Spanish American participation rate out of a total of 17.9 million participants in April 1975. By way of contrast, the participation rates for Blacks was 37.8 percent in October 1974 and 37.9 percent in April 1975.

With respect to housing programs, in 1973, of the 102,141 families that moved into housing units under HUD's Low-Rent Public Housing Program, 6.4 percent were Spanish American, 41 percent were White and 49.2 percent were Black. Additionally, 16 percent of the Spanish American families were considered elderly families (65 years and over).

Referring to HUD's Rent Supplement Program, during a 12-month period ending September 30, 1973, 19,441 families were recertified for continued occupancy under this program. Of these families, six percent were Spanish American, 68 percent were Black and 20.5 percent were White.

In analyzing these data, one must take into consideration several variables before attempting to make any kind of generalization. This is especially true when comparing racial and ethnic participation rates. For instance, it is not sufficient to know the Hispanic participation rate for a particular time period if information is not also available on the actual number of Hispanics eligible to participate and the number of applications submitted to the various income security programs. Unfortunately, the data are not readily available from which such comparisons could be made. However, other social and economic characteristics of the Hispanic community can be utilized as indices of the number of persons potentially eligible to participate in a particular program during a specified time period. Such socioeconomic factors would include but would not necessarily be limited to:

- The size and composition of the Hispanic low-income population.
- The marital status of the low-income population, (e.g., how many are single-parent and two-parent families, widowed, or divorced, female head as compared to male head of household).
- The unemployment ratio of Hispanics.
- Characteristics of the low-income aged and disabled Hispanic population.
- Income characteristics of low-income families with head of Spanish origin household (e.g., median income, sources of income, one-parent income characteristics).

- A discription of how the above characteristics of the Hispanic population fluctuate over time.

In addition to the above, two variables difficult to measure, but which are salient factors nevertheless, are prejudice and discrimination - prejudice being a preconceived attitude or belief based on erroneous assumptions and discrimination the manifestation of that attitude or belief.

The point is that no matter how strong the desire to work, employment, especially in the higher income/white collar occupations, will be difficult to secure for minority group members as long as equal employment opportunities are not practiced and/or enforced.

All the above factors must be taken into consideration when analyzing participation rates of Hispanics and other ethnic and racial minorities. Unfortunately, the scope of this article precludes a detailed analysis of all these factors, while at the same time taking into consideration the cultural variable. Nevertheless, the following is offered as a cursory example of the type of analysis that might be contained in a more comprehensive presentation.

For instance, when, according to SRS's data we found that in 1973, 13.7 percent of all AFDC families were of Latin American birth or ancestry, we should also take into consideration the following socioeconomic characteristics of the Hispanic community during the same year (according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports):

- In 1973, about one of every five families with head of Spanish origin was below the low-income level, or about 470,000 families.

- About 410,000, or 88 percent, of all Spanish origin families under the low-income level had related children under 18 years of age as members of the family. The mean number of related children in these families was about 3.2 children per family.

- About 73 percent of all Spanish origin families below the low-income level in 1973 were headed by a person who was not a high school graduate.

- Of the estimated 411,000 families headed by a woman of Spanish origin, about 211,000, or one of every two, was below the low-income level.

- Spanish origin families below the low-income level in 1973 were relatively large families, with a mean size of 4.6 per family.

- The incidence of joblessness (7.3 percent) in 1973 for the Spanish origin population maintained its familiar position of being 4.3 percent higher than the White unemployment rate.

When the studies of the Food and Nutrition Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture found that in April of 1975, 11.4 percent of the Food Stamp Program participants were Spanish American, we should take into consideration other salient socioeconomic characteristics of the Hispanic community which may be casually related to the findings For example, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports:

- In 1975 the annual unemployment rate of Spanish origin workers was 12.2 percent.

- About 25 percent of all families of Spanish origin were below the low-income level in 1975, or about 630,000 of all families with head of Spanish origin.

- About 50 percent of all females headed Spanish origin families were below the low-income level in 1975, or about 230,000 families.
- In 1975, Spanish origin families below the low-income level had, on the average, larger families and more children than all families of Spanish origin, 3.0 and 2.4 children per family respectively.
- The median income in 1975 of all families in the United States was considerably higher at $13,700, than the median income of families with head of Spanish origin, at $9,600.
- One of every four families with head of Spanish origin 65 years and over was living below the poverty level in March 1975, or about 43,000 families.

In conclusion, although knowledge of Hispanic culture and history indicates that most Hispanics prefer not to become dependent on assistance agencies administering income transfer programs, the paucity of available data does not allow the claim that this has been firmly proven or disproven by the data presented in this paper. A longitudinal study comparing participation rates of Hispanics in times of economic crisis and in times of economic well-being would be of great value. However, a number of intervening variables would have to be accounted for. The hypothesis of such a study might be that the greater the individual's identification with the Hispanic culture, the less likely that person will be willing to become dependent on non-work related incomes.

The stigma of being on welfare cuts across racial and ethnic lines, but this psychological impact may be particularly acute among Hispanics.

One important aspect of this coordination could be the usage of common identifiers for Hispanics and the various groups which comprise that population. For example, the U.S. Bureau of the Census presently uses "Spanish Origin" as its identifier for Hispanics. This practice conflicts with the endorsement of "Hispanic and Hispano" and other identifiers by the Office of Management of the Budget.

If properly implemented, PL 94-311 will be of particular significance to future studies of Hispanic participation rates in welfare programs. The problem of limited data will certainly be ameliorated and this will in turn contribute substantially to the quality of data collected that can be used to analyze the impact of federal public assistance programs on the Hispanic community.

The array of programs that fall under the rubric of welfare are destined to be reformed under the new administration. The types of issues presented in this paper must be taken into consideration when this revamping occurs; otherwise, as far as the Hispanic community is concerned, the welfare system will continue to be insensitive and unresponsive to this segment of the welfare recipient population.

The enactment of Public Law 94-311 is vitally important to all Hispanics because it mandates the collection and publication of economic and social statistics for American of

Spanish origin or descent (see Appendix II). Section 3 of the law states:

> The Director of the Office of Management and Budget, in cooperation with the Secretary of Commerce and with the heads of other data-gathering Federal agencies, shall develop a government-wide program for the collection, analysis, and publication of data with respect to Americans of Spanish origin or descent.

APPENDIX I

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS 1973 REPORT ENTITLED: TO KNOW OR NOT TO KNOW: COLLECTION AND USE OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC DATA IN FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

FINDINGS

1. Federal Agencies are responsible for insuring that there is no discrimination in their programs and that the assistance they provide reaches the intended beneficiaries. In most cases, however, Federal Agencies have not assigned specific responsibility for determining whether or not the distribution of program benefits is equitable.

2. Federal officials frequently base their confidence in the equitable operation of their programs upon inadequate evidence, such as absence of complaints, existence of impersonal mechanisms for decision-making, and personal knowledge of program operations. They have not generally been instructed that racial and ethnic data must be used to measure equitability in the distribution of program benefits.

3. Federal officials are often resistant to the collection and use of racial and ethnic data because they consider their collection illegal, subject to misuse, or an invasion of privacy, and insufficient information has been provided to contradict those beliefs.

4. The collection of racial and ethnic data to promote equitable distribution of Federal assistance is consistent with the Constitution and with Federal law and where it is necessary to eliminate discrimination it may be mandated. It has been endorsed by private organizations and Federal Agencies and most of the larger minority group organizations.

5. In general, the possibilities of invasion of privacy and of misuse of racial and ethnic data are less than the damage created by lack of information to document the extent of discrimination and are overcome by legitimate Government interest.

6. Racial and ethnic data serve important functions in several stages of the process of the distribution of Federal assistance.

a. Although the needs of particular racial and ethnic groups may vary, Agencies have generally not measured these differences nor taken them into account in program planning.

b. Agencies have not generally measured the extent to which their programs reach various racial and ethnic groups, and consequently have made only limited efforts to correct any deficiencies in the allocation of resources.

c. Although program impact may vary according to racial and ethnic group, Agencies have not generally measured these differences in evaluating program performance.

d. Where Federal assistance is distributed indirectly to beneficiaries through recipients, i.e., intermediaries, racial and ethnic data are necessary to measure the extent to which their operations are nondiscriminatory. Agencies have generally not collected racial and ethnic data for the purposes of reviewing the activities of recipients of Federal assistance.

e. Agency officials have not generally collected racial and ethnic data for the establishment of goals and timetables to achieve equitable distribution of program benefits and to measure progress toward these goals.

7. Few Agencies have required the collection and use of racial and ethnic data. Where such requirements have been made, sufficient data are generally not collected for analysis of the extent of nondiscrimination in Federal programs.

a. Almost no data are available on the race or ethnic origin of persons eligible to benefit from particular Federal programs.

b. A limited amount of data on the race and ethnic origin of applicants is available, although data often are not tabulated for rejected applicants.

c. A limited amount of data on the race and ethnic origin of beneficiaries of Federal programs is maintained. However, data on users of federally funded facilities, which are open to the general public, are almost nonexistent.

d. Data by race and ethnic origin on the amount of benefits received, on the characteristics of beneficiaries and potential beneficiaries, and on program impact are rarely collected.

8. Despite the existence of some requirements for the collection and use of racial and ethnic data, Agencies have generally not collected nor analyzed data for such important program areas as:

a. Negative program effects, such as cost or in-

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convenience to individuals as a result of program operations, which are often disproportionately borne by the minority community;

b. Secondary benefits, which occur as an indirect result of the primary program goals, but which are sometimes of sizable value and often less likely to reach minority beneficiaries than they are to reach majority beneficiaries;

c. Activities in which minorities have traditionally not participated, often because eligibility requirements or qualifications have effectively excluded them.

9. Where racial and ethnic data are collected, they are often collected for an insufficient number of racial and ethnic groups as, for example, black, white, and other.

a. American Indians, Asian Americans, blacks, persons of Spanish descent, and others, have been identified as groups with distinct needs and problems.

b. Even among these categories, problems and needs vary significantly. The two largest groups included within the category of Spanish descent are Mexican American and Puerto Rican; among Asian American groups, Chinese and Japanese.

c. Other groups which are statistically important in particular geographic areas include Cubans, Filipinos, Koreans, individual American Indian tribes, French Canadians, Portuguese, and Italians.

10. There has been a great deal of controversy over the preferable method of collecting racial and ethnic data. Even among Agencies with policies requiring their collection, there is no consensus as to whether this is better accomplished by observation or self-identification.

a. Self-identification is generally more accurate than observer-identification. In cases where designation of several specific minority groups is necessary, self-identification is imperative for accuracy.

b. Some Agencies have favored observer identification because of the belief that requests for self-identification constitute an illegal invasion of privacy. Whatever invasion of privacy occurs, however, is not dependent on the method of observation and, further, is overcome by legitimate Government interests.

c. Use of self-identification permits an individual to utilize the criteria of self-perception or perception in the immediate community.

11. In some instances racial and ethnic data can be obtained by an Agency from existing records, data collected by other Federal Agencies, or general purpose data collection agencies.

a. An adequate system of Federal data collection on participation in Federal programs by racial and ethnic groups is dependent upon comprehensive collection and compilation of minority group data by general purpose data collection agencies. It is essential that vital, economic, health, social, and population statistics be available concerning individual minority groups within this country.

b. Coordination among Federal Agencies has been poor and there has been little sharing of racial and ethnic data. Comparability between program data and that from such Agencies as the Bureau of the Census data is often low.

c. General purpose data, i.e., statistics gathered to increase information about a particular subject rather than for program administration, are sometimes not collected or compiled by race and ethnic origin; where they are so collected, the categories for collection are generally restricted to black, white, and other.

12. Agency officials need guidance with regard to the optimal frequency of data collection and the required amount of detail necessary to obtain comprehensive data, but few such guidelines have been provided.

a. The optimal frequency of data collection is chiefly dependent upon the expected rates of change in program statistics and the timetables which have been set to reach program goals.

b. The detail required depends upon the analysis to be conducted. Where Federal assistance is distributed through intermediaries, data upon which to evaluate the extent of nondiscrimination for each intermediary must be available.

13. A principal responsibility of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is to evaluate the effectiveness of Federal programs and make an assessment of the extent to which they reach their intended beneficiaries.

a. Federal program evaluation is one of the major aspects of the budget examination process and is accomplished principally through the review of budget submissions, the conduct of budget hearings, and the preparation of Special Analyses of the Budget.

b. A performance management system has been developed for the indepth evaluation of particular program areas.

c. OMB has recently placed emphasis on civil rights, but it has not yet instituted systematic evaluation of the extent to which Federal programs are ber to each person which would subsequently be used by Federal Agency officials to retrieve racial and ethnic information would obviate this problem and is worthy of study.

5. OMB should strengthen existing mechanisms for coordination between the data needs of particular Federal programs and data collection by the Bureau of the Census. It should also establish mechanisms to facilitate sharing racial and ethnic data among Federal programs.

6. OMB should publish in the *Special Analysis of the Budget* summaries of racial and ethnic data included in Agency budget submissions so that information about the extent of Federal assistance to minority beneficiaries will receive widespread circulation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

GENERAL

1. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) should exercise strong leadership in the development and enforcement of a policy for the collection and use of racial and ethnic data.

a. OMB should require the collection and analysis of racial and ethnic data in all main programs of Federal assistance for the purpose of determining if such assistance reaches beneficiaries of various racial and ethnic groups on an equitable basis.

b. OMB should establish governmentwide standards for the collection and use of racial and ethnic data, which would provide a framework for Agency guidelines and insure consistency in Federal policy.

c. OMB should approve and annually review the guidelines adopted by each Federal Agency.

2. Where they have not already done so, each Federal Agency should issue a policy statement supporting the collection and use of racial and ethnic data as necessary to combat discrimination against minority groups in the distribution of Federal assistance.

a. Under the direction of OMB, Federal Agencies should issue guidelines explaining in detail how racial and ethnic data collection and use are to be accomplished.

b. Federal Agencies should provide technical assistance to program managers in the design of racial and ethnic data collection systems, in the analysis of the data collected, and in setting goals and timetables for remedying any deficiencies.

c. Federal Agencies should publish data on participation by racial and ethnic groups, showing the results of data analyses for each of their programs. Unpublished aggregate data should also be made available for use by other Federal Agencies, private organizations, and institutions.

THE DATA SYSTEM

1. An adequate racial and ethnic data collection system should require that program managers be responsible for knowing the number of potential beneficiaries, the number of applicants, and beneficiaries of their programs by race and ethnic origin. Data collection should be required for all negative program effects and all substantial secondary benefits.

a. Where Federal assistance is administered through a recipient, sufficient detail must be available to permit an evaluation of the operations of each recipient. Where there are a number of subrecipients, data should be available separately for each of them.

b. Where possible, estimates of the race and ethnic origin of potential beneficiaries should be obtained from data collected by the Bureau of the Census or other general purpose data agencies. Where no sources exist for data on the target population, sample surveys should be conducted to estimate program eligibility by race and ethnic origin.

c. Data on applicants and beneficiaries should be obtained on application forms used in the distribution of Federal assistance or in the recipients' activities. Data should be maintained on both successful and unsuccessful applicants. Where no applicant or participant records are maintained, surveys should be required on a regular basis.

2. As a minimum, the categories of American Indian, Asian American, Black, Spanish Descent, and Other should be required for use in programs of assistance and in general purpose data collection.

a. Separate data should also be obtained for Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Japanese, unless a valid reason for failing to do so can be demonstrated.

b. Additionally, programs should be required to make provision for the collection of data on Cubans, Filipinos, Koreans, individual American Indian tribes, Portuguese, French Canadians, and other major concentrations of disadvantaged racial and ethnic groups, when data collection takes place in the local communities in which significant numbers of these groups reside.

3. Where data are obtained on application forms or other records, the collection should be continuous, and tabulations should be made on an annual basis as a minimum. Where data are obtained by survey, they should be collected annually.

4. Standards for racial and ethnic data collection should be established to insure that these data are of a uniformly high quality.

a. Where possible, racial and ethnic identities should be made by the applicant or beneficiary. The data collected should be validated on a sample basis through visual observation, to insure that accuracy is maintained. Identification by an observer should be permitted only to supplement, and not fulfill, Agency requirements for racial and ethnic data collection.

b. Persons should be permitted to identify themselves as they perceive their race or ethnic origin or as it is perceived by those in their immediate community.

c. General purpose data collection Agencies, especially the Bureau of the Census, should insure that adequate minority group statistics are collected, tabulated, and published. These Agencies should work closely with OMB and Agencies administering Federal programs to insure comparability and high quality in all minority group statistics.

5. All data collection should be accompanied by appropriate safeguards against the misuse of the data collected.

a. Racial and ethnic data on individuals should not be made available on forms used for decisionmaking.

b. The disclosure of individual identities should be prohibited in any sharing of racial and ethnic data.

6. Supplementary data should be available for concomitant analysis with racial and ethnic data.

a. Data on personal characteristics relating to the need for Federal assistance and to eligibility for Federal assistance should be collected for potential beneficiaries, applicants, and beneficiaries.

b. Data on benefits received and program impact should also be available by race and ethnic origin.

7. The system should specify particular functions of racial and ethnic data.

a. Recipients, i.e., intermediaries, should be required to evaluate their operations through the collection and review of racial and ethnic data.

b. Potential recipients for Federal assistance should be required to submit data reflecting the race and ethnic origin of the population to receive Federal assistance and to provide data against which the target population can be compared, such as data on the race and ethnic origin of persons in the geographic area served by the recipient.

c. Racial and ethnic data should be used for scheduling compliance reviews on particular recipient's activities and in the conduct of those reviews.

d. Racial and ethnic data should be used to set numerical goals and timetables to remedy any defects in the distribution of Federal assistance to minority beneficiaries.

e. Racial and ethnic data should be used in program planning, program evaluation, and allocation of resources.

8. For each recipient of Federal assistance, and for each Federal program the system should measure, where appropriate, the extent to which:

a. Federal assistance reaches the intended beneficiaries of each racial and ethnic group;

b. The intended beneficiaries of each race and ethnic group apply for assistance;

c. Applications for assistance made by each racial and ethnic group are accepted;

d. The amount of benefit reaching beneficiaries of each racial and ethnic group is commensurate with each group's needs;

e. Full integration of activities and facilities takes place;

f. The goals of Federal programs are achieved for each racial and ethnic group.

9. Data collection or use deviating from the guidelines prescribed for the racial and ethnic data system must be authorized in writing by the Secretary or Chief Administrator of an Agency unless conducted as a supplement to that system.

THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

1. OMB should make use of the budget examination process to insure that Federal Agencies are informing themselves of the extent to which their programs reach minority beneficiaries on an equitable basis.

2. It should require that data on the number and race and ethnic origin of potential beneficiaries, applicants, and beneficiaries, as well as data on the amount of benefit distributed by race and ethnic origin be contained in Agency budget submissions.

3. Budget examiners should be directed to review any indications of deficient service to minority beneficiaries, referring to data stored within the Agency concerned and instructed to insure that remedial steps are taken.

4. OMB should study the possibilities of establishing a central data storage and retrieval mechanism to eliminate duplicate efforts in racial and ethnic data collection. For example, the idea of assigning a num-

reaching minority beneficiaries nor has it required such evaluations by Federal Agencies.

14. OMB is also charged with setting statistical standards for Federal data collection.

a. Throughout the Government, a variety of racial and ethnic categories are in use, collection methods are haphazard, and few guidelines exist for safeguarding data.

b. OMB is currently considering standardization of racial and ethnic categories, but has given little consideration to other technical areas.

15. OMB is responsible for coordination of Federal statistical activity.

a. There is substantial overlap between the data needs of some Agencies and the collection and/or production capacity of other Agencies.

b. While OMB has sponsored some coordinating activities between the Bureau of the Census and Agencies with programs of Federal domestic assistance, these activities have had only limited success. No other main efforts have been made at interagency coordination of data collection.

APPENDIX II

PUBLIC LAW 94-311
94th CONGRESS, H.J. RES. 92
June 16, 1976

Public Law 94-311
94th Congress, H. J. Res. 92
June 16, 1976

Joint Resolution

Relating to the publication of economic and social statistics for Americans of Spanish origin or descent.

Whereas more than twelve million Americans identify themselves as being of Spanish-speaking background and trace their origin or descent from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America, and other Spanish-speaking countries; and

Whereas these Americans of Spanish origin or descent have made significant contributions to enrich American society and have served their Nation well in time of war and peace; and

Whereas a large number of Americans of Spanish origin or descent suffer from racial, social, economic, and political discrimination and are denied the basic opportunities they deserve as American citizens and which would enable them to begin to lift themselves out of the poverty they now endure; and

Whereas improved evaluation of the economic and social status of Americans of Spanish origin or descent will assist State and Federal Governments and private organizations in the accurate determination of the urgent and special needs of Americans of Spanish origin or descent; and

Whereas the provision and commitment of State, Federal, and private resources can only occur when there is an accurate and precise assessment of need: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Department of Labor, in cooperation with the Department of Commerce, shall develop methods for improving and expanding the collection, analysis, and publication of unemployment data relating to Americans of Spanish origin or descent.

Spanish-Americans.
Economic and social statistics, publication.
29 USC 8.

SEC. 2. The Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Agriculture shall each collect, and publish regularly, statistics which indicate the social, health, and economic condition of Americans of Spanish origin or descent.

15 USC 1516a.

SEC. 3. The Director of the Office of Management and Budget, in cooperation with the Secretary of Commerce and with the heads of other data-gathering Federal agencies, shall develop a Government-wide program for the collection, analysis, and publication of data with respect to Americans of Spanish origin or descent.

15 USC 1516a note.

SEC. 4. The Department of Commerce, in cooperation with appropriate Federal, State and local agencies and various population study groups and experts, shall immediately undertake a study to determine what steps would be necessary for developing creditable estimates of undercounts of Americans of Spanish origin or descent in future censuses.

13 USC 141 note.

SEC. 5. The Secretary of Commerce shall ensure that, in the Bureau of the Census data-collection activities, the needs and concerns of the Spanish-origin population are given full recognition through the use of Spanish language questionnaires, bilingual enumerators, and other such methods as deemed appropriate by the Secretary.

13 USC 141 note.

SEC. 6. The Department of Commerce shall implement an affirmative action program within the Bureau of the Census for the employment of personnel of Spanish origin or descent and shall submit a report to Congress within one year of the enactment of this Act on the progress of such program.

Affirmative action program.
Report to Congress.
13 USC 22 note.

Approved June 16, 1976.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 94-190 (Comm. on Post Office and Civil Service).
SENATE REPORT No. 94-896 (Comm. on Post Office and Civil Service).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:
Vol. 121 (1975): Oct. 29, considered and passed House.
Vol. 122 (1976): May 21, considered and passed Senate, amended.
June 7, House concurred in Senate amendments.
WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS:
Vol. 12, No. 25 (1976): June 16, Presidential statement.

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SUMMARY OF THE SYMPOSIUM'S PLENARY GROUP DISCUSSION

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INTRODUCTION

Following the presentation of the various papers to the "Chicanos and Welfare Symposium" participants, the persons present were asked to join in a plenary group discussion on the welfare system and the issue of welfare reform and its current and potential implications for the Chicano community, especially those persons who are the consumers of the current welfare programs. The group retreated to an informal group setting and the proceedings were recorded. The entire discussion lasted approximately three hours. What follows is a summary of the highlights of the group discussion.

Briefly, the group discussion started by enumerating a few of the welfare reform proposals currently being considered by various segments within the welfare reform movement, e.g., Incremental Welfare Reform, the Negative Income Tax, Generic Welfare Reform, the "Triple-Track" Welfare Reform Proposal, etc. The discussion ended by the group concluding that, in general, despite the strategies proposed and the long discussions over the years, no consensus opinion has been reached as to the best approach to welfare reform. The opinion of the participants seemed to be that it was beyond the scope of the symposium to offer support for a specific welfare reform proposal but that some short range principles could be supported such as utilizing "need" as the primary

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basis in determining eligibility. Other short range principles the group chose to support are further enumerated in the symposium's "Welfare Position Paper" (see Appendix I), which was adopted by the participants near the end of the session.

In concluding the dialogue, the group recognized the symposium as a worthwhile endeavor. However, it was also noted that the symposium was the first of its kind to ever take place and that it should be viewed as a first step in a much needed ongoing dialogue among Chicanos on the implications of the welfare system for all persons in general, and the Chicano community in particular.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

The reason which brought the participants together was a general consensus on the idea that the welfare system was destroying the Chicano family concept, the Chicano's value system, and to some extent, contributing to the increase of delinquency among our youth. The timing for discussing these problems was appropriate since the new Carter Administration has the welfare reform issue as one of its major priorities.

WELFARE REFORM APPROACHES

Early in the discussion it was stated that in order for the group to come out with a workable proposal for welfare reform, they needed to agree first on a well defined strategy. The discussion was then directed to outlining and briefly discussing some of the various approaches to welfare reform.

The Incremental Approach

The first alternative discussed was the Incremental Approach. Supporters of this approach argue that the most realistic welfare reform strategy is to try to make certain basic improvements in the current system without attempting to make fundamental structural changes. The incrementalists believe that the cost of any comprehensive program that reaches out to new people is necessarily so high that such a program would inevitably end up cutting benefits for some of the people already covered instead of providing further needed assistance. They further argue that the political difficulty of passing major reform legislation is so great that less ambitious efforts, which have a greater chance of passing, should be tried. The following are examples of the specific proposals which have been suggested as part of an incremental strategy:

- Improve benefit levels in the AFDC program by mandating national minimum payment and eligibility levels, and adopting an automatic cost of living increase.
- Improve the AFDC program by making families with unemployed mothers eligible, defining unemployment less restrictively, and removing or easing the labor force attachment test.
- Eliminate the purchase requirement in the Food Stamp program.
- Expand the AFDC program to reach all two parent families with children.
- Move the Food Stamp program from Agriculture to HEW.

It is argued that the Incremental Approach should not be labeled as a piecemeal change since all these changes, over a period of time, would constitute a revolutionary strategy in itself.

The Negative Income Tax Approach

Another approach to the welfare reform issue discussed during this session was the Negative Income Tax or Guaranteed Income Approach. This program would be expanded beyond the groups now covered by AFDC and SSI to cover all persons whose income was below a stated level regardless of family status or other characteristics such as employment or disability. Benefits would be determined by subtracting the income of the individual or family claiming benefits from a standard which would have a set amount for families of each size. This benefit scale would be tied in to the federal income tax system. Under this program, eligible recipients would receive a basic tax-free grant based on the amount of their earnings and other outside income until they reached a break-even point. One suggested model for a comprehensive cash proposal would be to provide the cash assistance based on need without work requirements or rewards, and to independently undertake the job creation necessary to provide enough jobs at adequate wages for all the people who are now seeking work. The major advantage of the comprehensive cash approach would be that beneficiaries would be treated similarly under a single administrative structure.

The Generic Welfare Reform Approach

The next approach discussed was the Generic Welfare Reform. This proposal entails a fundamental restructuring of the Welfare System. There are different options in order to accomplish this purpose. One of them is the Public Service Employment Program, which is also referred as "the jobs approach to welfare." The theory behind this program is that if a citizen wants to work, there should be a job available to him, provided either by the Government or by the private industry. This job/cash proposal was discussed in greater detail later on during the Symposium.

At this point in the group discussion the following question was asked: "Is it possible for us to talk about some way of taking care of our own?" The purpose of the question was to make the participants aware of other alternatives to deal with the problems of the present Welfare System. The Mormons were mentioned as an example of a community that has taken on their own, the responsibility to look out for the disabled,elderly and the poor. With these thoughts in mind the group recessed.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The group reconvened after lunch and the first topic of discussion was the job requirement attached to the AFDC eligibility criteria. One of the participants said this measure worked against the Chicano, particularly against their family concept. In the way the system is now set, no consideration is given to the person who has no skills or whos' main concern is to remain home and properly raise her children.

One Chicana participant expressed her concern about the danger of spending too much time discussing issues that might be dead instead of giving more emphasis to the formulation of an action strategy. "Also important is the fact that consumers and providers of the welfare system work together", she said. For example, The Chicano Welfare Rights Organization and concerned providers should join efforts to deal with the problems originating from the present welfare system. "Providers have become a vested interest group, just as the consumers; together they could accomplish something at a very crucial time in history."

The reaction to this statement was that even though some of the participants were welfare recipients themselves, they were there to represent the interests of all Chicanos. "I am here to preserve la cultura de la familia", said Marta Bustamante.

There was consensus about the fact that the goal of preserving Chicanos' ways was a given. The question is how to incorporate that concern into the changes that are about to happen. The main issues are: 1) How are we going to coalesce in terms of all the different groups and constituencies that exist? 2) How are we going to put those concerns together and then have assurance that they are going to go through? These questions refer to the need of planning a strategy and developing an action plan.

The participants were asked to think about the type of welfare system they would prefer. Whether they foresee a system where no work requirement is attached to the eligibility criteria, or maybe a completely different approach to the one now in effect.

To this, one participant suggested that at some point in our discussion, it might be better to focus more on what is happening now. The reforms that are being considered won't be in effect until a few years from now, and many welfare recipients desire a response and solution to problems they are encountering today.

The Triple-Track Proposal

From this point the discussion moved on to the "triple-track" proposal. This approach suggests that beneficiaries be divided into at least two and/or three separate groups:
1) persons who "should not be expected" to work outside the home, who should receive some form of cash assistance
2) persons who are "able" to work outside the home, but unemployed, who should be prompted to work or receive job training, and
3) persons whose income from work is inadequate, who should receive an income supplement. The proponents of this proposal have not specifically defined the criteria for whom is or is not expected to work in the paid labor market although there are general references to considering such factors as the age of

children in the home, disability, etc. It is also generally stated that the criteria should be fair and should be objective to avoid substantial administrative complexity. However, it is not at all clear as to whether or not it is possible to design any such criteria.

The welfare track (those determined not expected to work) could be administered by the Department of HEW. The current HEW version of a triple-track plan does not indicate whether states will be required or allowed to supplement the federal grant where the federal payments are less than current AFDC levels in those states.

All other covered persons, those employed and those referred to as the "employables", are placed in either the working poor track or the manpower track. This group of people would include some of the present AFDC population, including all families now in the AFDC-UF program and most of the one-parent families with children over some specified age. Persons in the working poor track, that is, the employed, would receive an expanded version of the existing earned income tax credit.

Persons in the manpower track are supposed to be referred to a public or private sector job or training program through the current state employment service system, or to the CETA program or other manpower programs operated by the U.S. Department of Labor. Refusal to accept a referral would cause a loss of benefits.

Many of the jobs/cash proposals place heavy emphasis on the use of massive "public service employment" programs to develop the jobs necessary to provide jobs under the program. Generally these proposals provide very few details about the form this public service employment would take.

This proposal is very responsive to the principle of change. Administratively it might be very complex; you will still be dealing with different kinds of systems in the various states. Also, the states will still have some input in the administration and implementation of Title XX, which deals with social services. Presently, the programs under Title XX are federally funded under the Social Security Administration and are administered by the States.

Title XX at this point includes a mechanism for local participation in the planning of the programs, but the reality is that the consumers and the minorities have not been involved in the planning. People are aware that this is happening and there have been a lot of strategies to include participation of the consumer in the planning process. The States will be given technical assistance to make sure that minority populations are involved in the planning.

A General Discussion on Welfare and Welfare Reform

All of the above proposals hinge on the economy. If the U.S. economy starts to turn around and there is surplus money, there will be a competition between going for National Health Insurance or going for welfare reform. If there is no surplus money, then maybe we will be talking about the same things four years from now.

Statistics and regulations are not the best means to measure a program's success. Reality is reflected in a different way: whenever you find Chicanos who are on welfare, it is almost a given that they will be getting second rate and third rate medical services, while the government is still funding first rate services.

The planning that is being done now, for changes that might occur in the next three years, do not tell us who will be the beneficiaries of these programs. We need to get together to change legislation; we need to know if we can develop a national strategy in order to attain these goals. Further, what role will National organizations such as the National Council of La Raza play in the capacity of getting our voices together?

It is necessary to stress the fact that Chicanos have particular needs and problems. Chicano welfare recipients do not want to be generalized with all persons in the welfare rolls, just because they are all poor. There is a need for a particularistic kind of policy, rather than universal. In the past, for example, special provisions have been developed for Native Americans and Cuban refugees. This might have occurred in the case of a national emergency, but it shows that this type of approach is feasible.

Mateo Camarillo expressed his support of the reorganization of the categories. "I have a problem with the idea of giving out a check and letting the recipient do with it what he wants. The needs of Chicanos are not going to be met in this way." Better planning has to start at the policy making level. For example, in the recommendations regarding a law on vocational education, there is a clause stipulating a 20% ear-mark to deal with specific language problems experienced in the Chicano community. It also requires the States to go and find the people who are eligible in order to serve them. "These are the types of concepts we ought to start looking at", he said.

Mr. Camarillo also briefly discussed the impact of the Revenue Sharing system in San Diego. There are six categories or divisions within the system, one of them being Social Service For the Poor. All are channeled through the States, cities and counties. This system proved to be beneficial to Chicanos because first, it helped to organize their communities, and second, it provided resources for the organizations that had to deliver the services to the community. The neighborhood organization can define a program according to its needs, and it is immediately eligible because of the priority already stipulated in the legislation.

This example of the success of the Revenue Sharing Program in San Diego was said to be an exception of the usual way in which the Revenue Sharing System operates.

It was noted that not everybody takes advantage of the welfare benefits to which they are lawfully entitled. Some people feel that by accepting a government check, food stamps coupons, or free medical services they will be loosing their dignity. And the fact is that this conceptualization of the welfare system is prevalent among Chicanos.

One way of dealing with the above situation is to make welfare benefits payable through the Income Tax System. This would eliminate having to wait in line at the food stamp office and all the other inconveniences and difficulties that welfare recipients sometimes endure.

But this alternative of the Negative Income Tax is not free of criticisms. Some of its pluses are that it establishes an equitable grant for everybody; there is a work incentive that will allow some money for those who work; it cashes out food - stamps and housing benefits; it would be administered by IRS; and it has some state suplementation in terms of services. Critics of this proposal allege that differences in payments are still going to exist because of the state's supplementation; it may assure some guaranteed income for those at the poverty level, but it is silent on the issue of job creation. It cashes out food stamps, but in some cases it will reduce the grants because of the state supplementation.

A factor which deserves consideration is that if the Negative Income Tax proposal is implemented the Food Stamps Program and possibly, medical services tied to welfare will not continue. It has been the case that some people want to get on the welfare rolls, not for the cash benefits but for the other in-kind services that the system provides. The cash assistance given by some states will probably be insufficient to cover the medical, nutritional and housing needs of the individual.

In this regard, Mr. Leonel Castillo added; "When putting together this proposal, economists were only looking for a way to transfer income to the tax-system, that's all it was. It is not necessarily tied to anything else, it depends on how high a floor you set. For anyone to think that the U.S. Congress is going to pass a high enough floor that would enable them to phase out housing, food stamps, and all the other programs, in my opinion is being very naive. We are going to have a difficult time just raising the ceiling a couple of hundred dollars. I think the final result will be the patch-work approach with new adjustments to the old programs. I think that is the practical political reality of what is going to happen."

The welfare program is so tied up with medical services that it needs to be looked at in its totality. Giving out cash is not enough; you can't overlook the medical needs of the elderly and low income people.

Again, most of the economists were not aware of the tremendous number of programs that are indirectly tied to Welfare. In California for example, there are many categorical programs (migrant health, migrant education, bilingual education, state compensatory education, etc.) tied to Welfare. For this reason, Chicanos, even though they are the poorest minority in California, do not participate on Welfare in proportion to their number. They wind up getting less benefits, and ridiculous situations prevail where you have bilingual education money going to non-chicano groups. All these because most of these programs are tied to AFDC.

At this point the group agreed on supporting a Negative Income Tax or a Guaranteed Income System, whether in the short or long term. This, with the provision that some consideration is given to the programs already operating.

One participant stressed the fact that the welfare reform issue should not neglect that segment of society that definitely requires government assistance. No matter what kind of work incentives are offered to them, they just are not able to work; for example, the totally disabled and certain women in the AFDC programs who would be better off in the home raising their children. The participant asked that the Incremental Change Approach be given more consideration before reaching a final desicion. Examples of this approach would be the elimination of the food coupons and the establishing of a cash assistance system for food based on needs. Another change could be, moving the

Food Stamp program from the Department of Agriculture to HEW. This won't probably happen because HEW is not interested in handling the Food Stamp program, and USDA will not allow it for political reasons.

To this, someone argued that by dealing with the floor (Negative Income Tax) it would not be necessary to have food stamps or a food-cash program.

A petition was made for someone to read some of the positions of other organizations on the welfare reform issue. These groups are involved in Welfare and have position papers on topics such as eligibility criteria, payment standards, and how this should be funded.

The rationale behind this request was that the issue of welfare reform is within a political framework and anyone planning an alternate system needs to know what is feasible. In order to plan a strategy you need to know what is going on. You need to consider all the possible options, but you also need to know where will one get support for any idea or alternative after a consensus is reached. Dr. Marta Sotomayor said, "At this point, we need to talk in terms of strategy and not necessarily in terms of the principles involved. The idea that we are unique, the principle of our familia, are important but this is not the right time to deal with that. Let's see what do the other groups have to say and what positions are they taking. This is just as a matter of information, not because we are going to accept them or support them."

The document was read to the participants, which summarized various positions taken by other groups in respect to welfare reform.

It was noted that not all of the alternatives proposed by these organizations had been fully analyzed by Chicanos or even by the so called "experts" in welfare reform. After all these years of discussion, none of them have really been thoroughly examined. The "experts" are now making decisions; whether they are able to make these decisions in an unbiased manner, is another issue. Another fact is that right now, there is no Chicano group holding a position on welfare reform. Do we want to support a particular alternative? Perhaps it would be better to draw up a set of guidelines as opposed to a detailed position paper.

In general the group agreed that Chicanos, compared to other groups, want to work. For that reason, the work programs should not be eliminated. But a floor is also needed because many people cannot work. In addition to whatever is established as a minimum floor, there ought to be some kind of work program. One participant felt that the Administration would probably support some kind of negative income tax program.

Raul Yzaguirre suggested taking some time to explore what happened to the Family Assistance Program. The Administration proposed it with pretty heavy support initially, and then the Conservative forces within the Democratic party and the Republican party started a campaign against it. The liberals went along with it to a point, and then the pressure came from New York and from some of the California ultra-liberals who said they didn't want the program anymore. By this time Nixon said: "Well, I wasn't too enthusiastic about it anyway." And so the whole thing died.

A participant added that he believed a Negative Income approach would get at the core of the whole range of fragmented services. A Negative Income Tax program should be introduced as the first and most important priority, since it solves the economic problems and as it is well known people with cash are able to demand services. As long as the semi-starvation situation continues, and people keep on working for very low wages, the whole mess will be perpetuated. With more income coming to the citizens and a greater demand for services, the Authorities will be forced to reform services such as health. Also, the rationale for the continuation of the present mediocre social services will be questioned.

POSITION PAPER ON WELFARE REFORM

Dr. Marta Sotomayor brought to the floor for discussion, a paper she had prepared for presentation at this point. (Attachment I.) The following are the main issues discussed in the paper. The Welfare System is made up of numerous programs, none of which is really working. Despite the strategies proposed and the long discussions over the years, no consensus opinion has been reached. It seems that at this point only short-range principles can be considered. For example, the principle of administrative simplicity should be pursued. Also important is the concept of minimum intervention into the lives of people, which really deals with the whole issue of social work practices. The principle of "need" as a basis for help, rather than placing people in certain categories, should also be endorsed. The issue becomes who's going to define "need", and according to what criteria?

All of the following should also be areas for consideration: 1) National uniformity in benefits 2) Equity in terms of grants and treatment 3) Comprehensiveness of services and benefits which includes medical, housing, food, etc. 4) Bilingual and bicultural staffing at all levels of policy planning, administration and program delivery. Hispanics should support short term action that deals with regulations rather than legislation. Action should be taken by the different departments in order to deal with the flagrant inadequacies and inequities, including common forms, bilingual forms and personnel, data collection (statistics on Chicanos), and to reduce program complexities in existence. In the long range the group should support the fundamental principle of Welfare Reform.

Dr. Sotomayor stressed the fact that these were only recommendations and that the group could come up with different ideas and suggestions, like for example the tracking system or the Negative Income Tax Program. She explained that Track #1 would be all those people who are not employable or do not wish to become employed. There would be a set of regulations and benefits for them. The second track are those who are not employable, but want to be employed. Track #3 is made up of those who are potentially employable, but because of the circumstances they can not find employment (lack of training, illness, or lack of jobs). There will exist a connection between the track the individual is in and eligibility.

Marta Bustamante added that the tracking system would put a stigma on children, just as the AFDC program has done. "The tracking system would insure that our children don't go beyond 8th. grade since their parents have been labeled as being unemployable and the kids should be prepared for an automatic acceptance of welfare, or for the lower level type of jobs."

DISCUSSION OF OTHER ISSUES

Quality of Life

According to one of the participants, all the alternatives presented up to this point, supported in one form or another, the same middle class values of the white-anglo society. His concern is that economic prosperity not necessarily goes parallel to human fulfillment. It sometimes happens that they work in reverse. Better economic conditions should be a goal, but factors such as what kind of survival, what kind of fulfillment and for what purpose, should not be ignored.

In regard to the above, Mateo Camarillo added that no one can become rich middle class with the low floor attached to the Negative Income Tax System. Nevertheless, a better income for Hispanics and others on Welfare, should be the main goal. Hungry people do not stop to think about the quality of the environment. If an individual finds meaning in his job he will probably feel motivated to look around and be concerned about non-material things. In other words, the main problem is job creation; after this is taken care of, then the individuals will deal with the issue of quality of life. Mr. Camarillo also recommended that the health issue not be included in the welfare reform discussion. He would rather focus on welfare and jobs, and on the effect these two would have on Chicanos.

Health

One participant dissented with Mr. Camarillo's statement about health. "The cost of health in this country", he added, "has gone out of control and it is no longer possible for a middle class family to afford the costs of hospitalization.

It is an issue that has to be seriously discussed; new structures are needed to deal with the problem. We should not only demand the availability of medical services, but the accessibility of good medical care at a reasonable cost."

Other comments

Marta Bustamante said she would have liked to see the discussion sessions geared more toward issues such as "la cultura" and "la familia." "Problems like juvenile delinquency, drugs and the instability of some Chicano families are the things we should be trying to find solutions to."

Tomas Atencio responded to this by saying that although Ms. Bustamante's recommendations were valid, at this point the participants were primarily dealing with a political strategy, and economics was the major consideration. They needed to analyze the basic foundations of the economic theory; what are the work concepts behind the idea of a guaranteed income; what human values support that economic concept, etc. Mr. Atencio referred to his paper's theme and said that Chicano values will never get to be as predominant as the values of the social welfare system. For that reason he suggested that the conference participants deal with the discussion of an analysis of the white-anglo values which apply to the Social Welfare System.

The next step is to determine if these economic considerations are based on an updated economic view.

It was stressed again the need to distinguish between moral and ethical values and economic and political issues. Any approach needs a well planned strategy. For example, if there is agreement to endorse the Negative Income Tax, then the next step should be to look at it having in mind the specific needs and realities of the Chicano community. If health services is a major need among Chicanos, then a National Health Program could be endorsed simultaneously with the Negative Income Tax proposal.

Leonel Castillo discussed some aspects about a National job policy. He expressed his concern about such an approach, based on his experience with similar types of programs. "Most of these programs", he said, "are based on old style economics." "The emphasis should be on skill's training, not merely in job creation. Many youngsters waste their time on the federal payroll, in summer jobs that do not stress any skill development."

Final Remarks

For the purpose of summarizing, one participant asked if it could be said that the group supported the idea of a Negative Income Tax or a set income. "If this is the case", he said, "what needs to be determined is the realm of services that will accompany this system." Will the services be in the area of jobs, in the area of skill-development, or in the area of "learnfare?"

Dr. Sotomayor suggested to move along and discuss recommendations based on the discussion that had taken place.

An action strategy was proposed by Mateo Camarillo. "It has to be determined who the listeners are going to be and how can the message will get across to them." He added that the specifics and principles that had been discussed needed to be channeled through other means, for example, hearings and other feasible vehicles.

In order to maximize the results of the Symposium, Raul Yzaguirre suggested that the authors complete and edit the papers presented at the Conference. From their final product and from the discussion that had taken place during the last two days, some kind of consensus would be reached and recommendations would be outlined.

He added some concluding remarks as the discussion drew to a close. He stated that, "part of what we need to decide here is where do we go from here? In my mind I have clear several elements that have to be present no matter what we do. There's got to be a conscience raising element to it, because there is very little out here in terms of Chicanos welfare rights. We need to raise the level of awareness. We also need to define what is good for Chicanos. We have done that to a certain degree for the last couple of days, and we have found out those things that might be bad. However, more thought should be put into it."

The group was thanked for their participation in the Symposium. It was made clear that this was just a first step and that additional symposiums on Chicanos and welfare are very much needed.

APPENDICES

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POSITION ON WELFARE REFORM

Review of available data on the demographic data of the Mexican American reveal that this population group is characterized by devastating poverty accompanied by all of its well known symptoms such as poor health, high mortality rates, poor housing, high unemployment rates, high-drop out rates, and lack of and access to resources and skills to improve our condition. One can reach the conclusion that this population group ought to be the beneficiary of the wide range and scope of Federal, State and local programs legislated to deal with the conditions of poverty.

Review of the literature on the development of federal programs for the poor, the statutes, regulations, legislative hearings and published data on program design and performance lead to a tentative conclusion about the impact of these programs specifically and as a whole. Federal programs included in this package are: Aid to Dependent Families (AFDC), Medicaid, Food Stamps, Title XX of the Social Security, WIN, CETA, and other programs.

A great deal of discussion has taken place since the inception of these programs regarding their adequacy to deal with the problems of the poor and language minority groups. There have been numerous proposals for change advanced. However, the Nation has failed to take action leading to any

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significant or meaningful changes. It is difficult to find defenders of the present welfare system and it appears equally difficult to find consensus as to what ought to be done to change the present system.

The issue of "need" of the poor in general, and the Chicano poor in particular, becomes clouded in the administrative maze, duplication of effort, differences in objectives, practices, procedures, eligibility requirements, coupled with general confusion and frustation of the providers of services.

For example, welfare programs are administered at the federal level by over nine different agencies, bureaus, in four Cabinet Departments each following their own administrative rules and guidelines often interpreted differently at the state and local levels. Each program requires different percentage of program state or local match of funds to the federal dollar. Thus, the priorities of the federal program strategy are often subverted by the priorities of the individual state or locality.

All of the programs with the exception of the Food Stamp Program are "need" tested, a notion that has various interpretations given the states and localities' latitude in the definitions of need. More often than not this results in a subjective measurement of minimum need without consideration of basic factors such as the poverty index or local cost of living.

The various systems of data keeping and retrieval, compounded by the high case turnover, leads to almost insurmountable barriers to the evaluation of program performance. This factor is further complicated when one attempts to measure the performance levels vis-a-vis Chicanos and lack of meaningful, significant and accurate data.

It is quite clear that the full constellation of welfare benefits is a matter of circumstance rather than the result of a national system that had the objective of meeting basic human needs in a comprehensive and coordinated manner. The basic rights of people for a life chance with dignity becomes dissipated as they enter a system of complicated and contradictory eligibility requirements, subjected to investigation and violation of privacy and dignity. To the Chicano, entering this demeaning system adds one more burden to their lives of discrimination, abuse and work.

We conclude that the different federal programs treat people unequally as expressed in dissimilar benefits and for Chicanos it is aggravated by institutionalized racism that creates an additional level of unequal treatment.

We endorse the principles of:

1) Administrative simplicity.
2) Minimum intervention into the lives of people.
3) The principle of need as the basic for eligibility rather than certain categories.

4) Uniformity in benefits.

5) The equity in terms of grants and treatment.

6) The principle of comprehensiveness of services and benefits.

7) Bilingual and bicultural staffing at all levels; such as, policy planning, administration and delivery of services.

8) The delivery of bilingual and bicultural service modalities.

We take the position that no proposal for the change strategy is ideal in every respect since these various strategies have not been sufficiently developed and analyzed, particularly in terms of cost and benefits for the consumer.

We support short-term action that deals with regulation rather than legislation and believe that corrective action ought to be taken by HEW, DOL, HUD, USDA in order to deal with flagrant inadequacies and inequities in the various programs. These include a need for bilingual standard forms, bilingual and bicultural personnel, data collection for Hispanics in general, and the reduction of program complexity and instrumentation.

In the long-run we support the fundamental principles of social reform.

APPENDIX II

CHICANOS AND WELFARE SEMINAR TENTATIVE AGENDA

NOVEMBER 19 and 20

Friday

10:00 AM - 1:00 PM	Registration
1:00 PM - 2:00 PM	Opening remarks and discussion of project and Seminar Objectives. Raul Yzaguirre, National Director NCLR
2:00 PM - 2:30 PM	"A Statistical Overview of Hispanics on Welfare" by Cosme J. Barcelo, Jr., M.S.W.
2:30 PM - 2:45 PM	Discussion
2:45 PM - 3:00 PM	Break
3:00 PM - 3:30 PM	"The Mexican Immigrant: A Case Study", by Miguel Montiel,D.S.W.
3:30 PM - 3:45 PM	Discussion
3:45 PM - 4:15 PM	" Chicano Family Values and the Welfare State", by Tomas Atencio.
4:15 PM - 4:30 PM	Discussion
4:30 PM - 5:00 PM	"The Welfare System's Impact on La Chicana", by Patricia Estrada.
5:00 PM - 5:15 PM	Discussion
5:15 PM - 6:00 PM	Summary/Observations
	Recess

Saturday

8:45 AM - 9:00 AM	Reconvene
9:00 AM - 9:30 AM	"Welfare Recipiency and Its Relationship to Juvenile Delinquency in the Chicano Community", by Librado R. De Hoyos
9:30 AM - 9:45 AM	Discussion

9:45 AM -10:15 AM	"The Effects of the Welfare System on the Chicano Elderly", by Marta Sotomayor, D.S.W.
10:15 AM -10:30 AM	Discussion
10:30 AM -11:30 AM	Summary of Presentations by Observers
11:30 AM	Recess
12:00 PM - 1:30 PM	Luncheon
1:30 PM - 1:45 PM	Reconvene
1:45 PM - 5:00 PM	Group Discussion/Strategies and Recommendations
5:00 PM - 6:00 PM	Closing Remarks and Adjournment

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